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PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION:
Fifty-Five Years of Lighting the Flame of History

55th Anniversary Issue

PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Founded 1955

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Ambeth Ocampo

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PREFACE

Fifty-five years ago, on September 18, a group of prominent Filipino historians established an association whose aim was to promote and propagate historical knowledge and studies. And thus was born the Philippine Historical Association (PHA). This year the PHA celebrates the fifty-fifth anniversary of its founding. Not many associations reach a half-century of existence; an even less number exceed the fifty-year mark. But it is not so much the longevity that makes the 55th anniversary of the PHA worthy celebrating. It is that for fifty-five years, the PHA kept true to its oath of elevating history as an academic discipline through numerous seminars and symposia on its effective study, teaching, and writing. For fifty-five years too, the PHA was relentless in promoting awareness and appreciation of history as an instrument of national unity and love of country. All these are borne out by the numerous milestones in the PHA's institutional life, many of which have become part of the national historical experience.

The theme of this year's issue of the *Historical Bulletin*, "Fifty-Five Years of Lighting the Flame of History," pays tribute to the work that the PHA has done for fifty-five years. But the theme also refers to the people who for fifty-five years steered the ship that was the PHA to be able to fulfill its mission. These are no one else but the PHA's Past Presidents, they who presided over meetings where projects and activities were decided upon, they who evoked and stirred the imagination of fellow members of the PHA board, many of them coming from different persuasions, to make possible the achievements for which the PHA has become known for. It is for this reason that Vol. 44 is a compilation of articles of each of the PHA's Past Presidents from 1955 up to the present. This is the very first time that an issue of the *Historical Bulletin* is being devoted specially for the PHA's Past Presidents.

Vol. 44 begins with a history of the PHA, starting from its founding in 1955, followed by details of its institutional makeup; the greater part of the PHA story consists of the milestones in its institutional life. This is followed by 25 articles, one for each PHA Past President arranged chronologically, that is, according to the year of the term as president. We have selected an article that best represents each of them and which have made their own intrinsic mark in Philippine historiography. We have included a 26th article, this one from the incumbent PHA President.

For a Truer Philippine Historical Perspective by Gabriel F. Fabella, delivered in Malacañang Palace in 1955 after President Ramon Magsaysay inducted him as the first president of the PHA, sets the tone of the research agenda that the PHA and other Filipino historians seriously needed to undertake. *New Trends in History* by Milagros C. Guerrero reveal useful tips for effective writing and teaching of history. Dalmacio Martin shows in his *Humor in History* that one can find humor in tragic historical events and even use humor as a method of writing and teaching history. Gregorio F. Zaide provides a classic example of a person whose life had been devoted to scholarship and historical undertaking in his article *Rafael Palma as Scholar and Historian*.

The PHA looks up to the lives of heroes as inspiration in fostering love of country. Ricardo A. Arcilla in his *Rizal on Youth* extols Rizal's constant message in all of his literary works that the youth is the hope of the country. Esteban A. de Ocampo compiles a litany of values and moral prescriptions left to us by our heroes in their literary works in his *Interpretation of the Ideals and Teachings of Our National Heroes*. The life story of two valiant Filipino generals during the Philippine-American War, *Gregorio del Pilar* and *Simeon Ola*, are recounted by Sixto Y. Orosa and Celedonio A. Ancheta, respectively.

Two articles are on the Revolution against Spain as viewed from regions that were not only far from its epicenter, Manila, but were non-Tagalog speaking as well. These are

Rosario M. Cortes' *The Role of Pangasinan in the Revolutionary Period, 1896-1898* and Gloria M. Santos' *The Philippine Struggle for Independence, 1896-1898: Its Impact on the Visayan Region*.

Three of the PHA's Past Presidents are unsurpassed in their expertise of the first two decades of American rule in the country. Their articles render a vivid picture of the machinations of the politics of the period --- Bonifacio S. Salamanca on the Philippine Commission in his *The Changing Strategy for National Survival during the Commission Era, 1902-1916*, Romeo V. Cruz on the Bureau of Insular Affairs in his *America's Colonial Desk and the Philippines, 1898-1934*, and Napoleon J. Casambre on the post of Resident Commissioner in his *Manuel L. Quezon as Resident Commissioner (1909-1916)*.

Philippine history is awash with issues that have become "controversial" as they have facts and figures that still need to be resolved. Two of the most contentious have been studied --- the first by Nicolas A. Zafra in his *The Cry of Balintawak as a Historical Problem*, the second by Celedonio O. Resurreccion in his *The Rules of Evidence as Innovative Approach to the True Identity of Pigafetta's Mazaua*. Though not in the same mold as these two previously mentioned, the way that secondary education, most especially Social Studies, was used as political propaganda during the Martial Law Regime is just as controversial as discussed by Evelyn A. Songco in her *Understanding Philippine Basic Education from 1972 to 1982 Using Multi-Disciplinary Approach*.

In his inaugural address, Gabriel F. Fabella dared the PHA to be creative and innovative in its research undertakings, citing the need to widen the scope of investigation. Three such areas of research endeavor have since been undertaken in the PHA --- on women by Ma. Minerva A. Gonzalez in her *Women in the Struggle for Independence*, on local history by Epitacio S. Palispis in his *Ang Bayan ng Baler: Isang Kasaysayan* and by Evelyn A. Miranda in her *The Role of Spanish Religious in the Urbanization of Laguna Towns along the Bai Area*; and on

economic history by Celestina P. Boncan in her *Philippine Socio-Economic Conditions in 1896: Prosperity vs. Poverty as Preconditions of the Revolution*.

Oscar L. Evangelista in his *The Formation of the Philippine National Community in Historical Perspective: Problems and Prospects* notes the absence of a sense of nation among Filipinos for which Diosdado G. Capiñan prescribes in his *Teaching History for National Unity* the practical ways through history to achieve this national unity that has eluded Filipinos. Cesar P. Pobre in his *A Strategy for Good Governance* suggests a program of governance founded on political reform, social cohesion, and economic growth to bring about true empowerment and independence to Filipinos.

Pablo S. Trillana III in his *A Sense of National Destiny: Historical-Spiritual Perspectives* and Filipinas E. Pineda in her *The Moral and Spiritual Character of the Filipino: A Reassessment* implores that it is just as important to redeem the country towards moral citizenship and governance by taking into account Philippine history from the spiritual, moral, and ethical perspective.

In his *Historical Agencies: National Hysterical Institute*, Ambeth R. Ocampo reviews the role of government in fostering historical studies through his experience as chairman of the National Historical Institute.

For the Document Section, we present here, in the light of recent initiatives to revive the issues, first, the position paper submitted in 1995 by the Philippine Historical Association to the Office of the President and the Department of Education regarding a proposal to place a crescent moon in the Philippine National Flag, and second, the statement issued in 1973 by Teodoro A. Agoncillo, University of the Philippines Professor of History, Commissioner of the National Historical Institute, and one of several founders of the PHA, regarding the addition of a ninth ray in the sun in the Philippine National Flag.

In the larger perspective, the selection of articles in this issue of the *Historical Bulletin* is a showcase of the various aspects and facets of Philippine history that the PHA's Past Presidents have addressed in the past half century and through which they have defined their role as historians, scholars, and teachers of history. It is with great expectation that our endeavor would be viewed as a contribution to the body of literature of Philippine historiography and as a threshold on which students of Philippine history can map out new pathways of historical research.

CELESTINA P. BONCAN

Editor

PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION: Fifty-Five Years of Lighting the Flame of History

Celestina P. Boncan

The Philippine Historical Association (PHA) is a non-stock, non-profit, non-sectarian and a non-partisan organization whose mission is to promote and propagate historical knowledge and studies. Founded in 1955, just over a decade after the country recovered its independence from the United States, the PHA has made its avowed aim to use history as an instrument for fostering love of country and pride for our people's achievements.

The article depicts the life story of the PHA from its humble beginnings in 1955 up to the present, injecting here and there the milestones that have made it a part of the national historical experience.

*Keywords: Founders*Past Presidents*Board of Governors*Historical Bulletin: Logo*Institutional Milestones*

Founding and Organization

The Philippine Historical Association (PHA) was founded on September 18, 1955 by prominent historians Teodoro Agoncillo, Encarnacion Alzona, Celedonio Ancheta, Gabriel Fabella, Esteban de Ocampo, Nicolas Zafra, and Gregorio Zaide.

A Board of Governors directs the activities of the PHA. It consists of eleven (11) regular members in good standing who are elected in the General Assembly which is held every two years on the last Sunday of January.

The first Board of Governors consisted of Gabriel Fabella, president; Gregorio Zaide, vice president; Esteban de Ocampo, secretary-treasurer; Honesto Villanueva, auditor; Luis Fiel, public relations officer; Donata Taylo, archivist-librarian; Encarnacion Alzona, Nicolas Zafra, Teodoro Agoncillo, Leopoldo Serrano, Celedonio Ancheta, governors;

In the afternoon of December 12, 1955 the first Board of Governors was inducted into office in Malacañang Palace by President Ramon Magsaysay whom the PHA earlier invested as Honorary President.

The PHA seal is circular in form. In the outer concentric circle appears the name of the PHA in Filipino --- Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas. At the center of the inner concentric circle there is a diamond inside of which is an ancient Filipino shield and an arrow. Inside the shield are three letters which represent the initials of the PHA in ancient Tagalog script. Above the diamond is "1955," the founding year of the PHA.

Membership in the PHA is according to the following categories: *regular members* are those who have been recommended by the Membership Committee; *honorary members* are those who are outstanding persons in any field of endeavor elected by a majority vote of the Board of Governors; *life members* are those who by virtue of their scholarship and

professional competence have been voted for admission by the Board of Governors.

Every year the main activity of the PHA is the national conference which is held in the 3rd week of September to coincide with the celebration of Linggo ng Kasaysayan (History Week). Generally, the theme is an issue pertaining to a national concern, for example in the most recent times, *Historical Development of Philippine Political Parties* (2006), *Kababaihan at Kabayanihan* (2005), *In Search of Good Governance: Retrospect and Prospects* (2004), *Terrorism: Historical Perspective and Implications* (2003), and *RP-US Relations: Historical Perspective* (2002); or pertaining to teaching history, for example, *Effective and Creative Strategies in Teaching History* (2008), *Controversies and Fallacies in Philippine History* (2007); or else pertaining to nationalism, patriotism and Philippine heroes, for example, *Kasaysayan: Kandungan ng Kabayanihan* (2005).

For the rest of the year, the PHA is kept busy holding seminars on effective teaching of history and other topics and events of historical relevance in other parts of the country.

Institutional Milestones

There have been many milestones in the institutional life of the PHA.

In 1957, President Carlos P. Garcia designated the PHA to take the lead in the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Philippine Assembly, the first all-Filipino legislature in the country.

When it was just on its fifth year of existence, the PHA took the bold step of organizing the 1st international conference of historians of Asia which was held in Manila on November 25-30, 1960. The conference gathered together scholars from Australia, Burma, Republic of China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Korea, Japan, Macao, Pakistan, Ryukyus, Singapore, Thailand,

and the United States for an exchange of views, ideas and information regarding conditions and problems of historical study and research in their respective countries. President Carlos P. Garcia addressed the delegates at the opening ceremony which was held at the Session Hall of the House of Representatives. Before the conference adjourned, the delegates created the *International Association of Historians of Asia* or IAHA which until today is an instrument for close cultural relations among Asian countries and enhancing the effectiveness and usefulness of written history as a means of promoting international peace, goodwill and understanding.

In 1960, the PHA passed a resolution which it sent to the House of Representatives and the Senate of the Philippines, proposing to change the date of Philippine Independence Day from July 4 to June 12 citing, as one of its arguments, that *in the archives of the Philippines there exists no other document attesting the voluntary and spontaneous declaration of independence made by Filipinos except the one proclaimed by General Emilio Aguinaldo in Kawit, Cavite on June 12, 1898 and which was subsequently ratified solemnly by the Revolutionary Congress at Malolos, Bulacan on September 29, 1898.* On August 4, 1964 Congress passed Republic Act No. 4166 making June 12 as Philippine Independence Day.

Three PHA stalwarts became leading members of the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission created by President Ramon Magsaysay on August 10, 1954 to promote and direct commemorative celebrations throughout the Philippines for the proper observance of the birth centennial of the country's national hero. Esteban de Ocampo was the Commission's chief researcher while Dalmacio Martin and Encarnacion Alzona were members of the Translation Panel tasked to translate Rizal's works from Spanish into English.

The PHA supported the initiative of Teodoro Agoncillo for Congress to create a Commission on Historical Research whose main function is, according to proponent Agoncillo, "to promote historical knowledge and studies; to collect and

preserve historical relics, manuscripts, documents and the like that pertain to Philippine history, culture and civilization." Congress passed on June 19, 1965 Republic Act No. 4368 "An Act to establish a National Historical Commission (NHC), to define its powers and functions, authorizing the appropriation of funds therefor, and for other purposes." President Ferdinand Marcos reorganized the NHC in 1972 into the National Historical Institute (NHI). Republic Act 10086, signed into law on May 12, 2010, reverted the NHI to its original nomenclature as the National Historical Commission of the Philippines. Two PHA Past Presidents served the post of NHI Chairman-Director, namely, Esteban de Ocampo (1972-1981) and Pablo Trillana III (1999-2001). Ambeth Ocampo served as NHI Chairman from 2002 to 2010, remaining as NHCP chairman until the present.

In 1988, the PHA launched a ten-year movement to celebrate the centennial of the Revolution to culminate in 1998. Bannered as the "*Decade of Centennials of Nationalism and Independence*," the movement follows a PHA tradition of celebrating significant events in the country's history and observing the centenaries of leading historical personalities.

In 1996, the PHA and its funding arm, the Philippine History Foundation, provided plaques of appreciation for the *Paligsahan sa Kasaysayan*, a national high school competition on the life and martyrdom of Jose Rizal and the 1896 Philippine Revolution which was launched in 1996 by the National Historical Institute as part of the Centennial Celebration. Members of the PHA Board of Governors sat as members of the board of judges in the Grand National Finals and also assisted the National Historical Institute in the formulation and evaluation of questions.

"The Centennial Goes to the Barrio," a project of the PHA which aimed to bring the celebration of the centennial to different regions in the country through a lecture-forum, a photo exhibit on the Philippine Revolution, and a seminar-workshop on

the study, teaching and writing of local history, became one of the flagship projects of the Centennial Celebration.

The PHA has an official journal called *Historical Bulletin*. The first issue came out in 1957 and was called *Buletin ng Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas*. The first Board of Editors consisted of Encarnacion Alzona, editor-in-chief, Nicolas Zafra, Teodoro Agoncillo, Filemon Guerra, and Horacio de la Costa, S.J., members. The *Buletin* was renamed *Historical Bulletin* in 1959.

The principal objective of the *Historical Bulletin* is to promote historical research and scholarship and to provide a venue for the publication of research studies and lectures delivered in PHA-sponsored seminars, conferences and symposia.

In general, the practice of the *Historical Bulletin* is to compile articles to form special issues. One such type of special issue is in honor of Filipino heroes and statesmen --- Volume IV (June 1960), Volume V (1961), and nearly the entire Volume VI (1962) on Jose Rizal; Volume VII (1963) on Andres Bonifacio; Volume III (1959) and Volume XIII (1969) on Emilio Aguinaldo; Volume VIII (1964) on Apolinario Mabini; Volume XXII (1978) on Manuel Quezon; Volume III (1959) on Sergio Osmeña; Volume XVIII (1974) on Rafael Palma and Juan Sumulong.

Another type of special issue is on significant events in Philippine history --- Volumes XXIX-XXX (1993-1994) on the Propaganda Movement; Volume XXVI (1982) on the Spanish and American Colonial Period; Volume XXXI-XXXII (1995-1996) on the First Cry of the Revolution and other issues on the Philippine Revolution; Volume XII (1968) on the Japanese Occupation featuring the operations of the United States Army Forces in the Philippines, North Luzon.

The *Historical Bulletin* also deals on themes in Philippine history --- Volume XVII (1973) on the study, teaching

and writing of history; Volume XXIV (1980) on education in the Philippines from 1861-1961; Volume X (1966) on the morals, values and teachings of great Filipinos and heroes; Volume XXXIV (1998-2000) on RP-US Relations; Volume XXXV (2001-2003) on terrorism.

Since 2005, the *Historical Bulletin* publishes the proceedings of annual conferences and special seminars which revolve around a theme that is timely and has been defined by the exigencies of the time --- Volume XXXVI (2004) "Towards a Sense of National Destiny: Historical and Spiritual Perspectives," Volume XXXVII (2007) "America's Legacy to Palawan: Culion Leper Colony and Iwahig Penal Colony," Volume XXXVIII (2007) "Historical Development of Philippine Political Parties," Volume XXXIX (2007) "Philippine-American Relations Revisited," Volume XL (2007) "History in a Multi-Disciplinal World," Volume XLI (2007) "Men of Valor and Fortitude: The Generals of the Philippine Revolution and the Philippine-American War," Volume XLII (2008) "America's Legacy to Philippine Public Health," and Volume XLIII (2009) "Teaching Rizal in the Classroom: Making the Rizal Course Relevant in Our Time."

Through the years, articles written by outstanding Filipino historians, scholars, educators, poets, linguists, statesmen, and diplomats filled the pages of the *Historical Bulletin*.

The PHA published two books that chronicled the centennial of the political development of the Philippines from 1898 to 1998. *Philippine Presidents: 100 Years* (1999) is a history of the Executive Branch from 1898 to 1998. On the other hand, *Philippine Legislature: 100 Years* (2000) traces the history of the Legislative Branch from 1898 to 1998.

After celebrating its 50th anniversary in 2005, the PHA continues to be as active and as dynamic as ever. It revitalized its institutional affiliation with the NHI, the Philippine Social

Science Council (PSSC) and the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) for support, especially for the new projects that it launched.

These new projects include the series on "Men of Valor and Fortitude" which is on the generals who led the fight for freedom during the Philippine Revolution and the Philippine-American War to give them the honor that they deserve and to use their lives as a model for teaching, among our youth especially, the ideals and aspirations of heroes, thereby stimulating among our people a greater sense of nationalism and patriotism.

Two new lecture series of the PHA is in close collaboration with the NHI. The first is "Teaching Rizal in the Classroom" which is held as part of the annual celebration of Rizal Day to address the needs of teachers of the Rizal Course which are principally to strengthen the teaching of the course and to provide new teaching techniques in making the Rizal Course interesting and relevant. The second is the colloquium to provide an academic discussion for the annual celebration of Philippine Independence Day.

The PHA launched the "Pocket Lecture Series" to benefit the secondary schools of the Department of Education in the National Capital Region. This consists of half-day lectures conducted for free by the PHA for teachers teaching Araling Panlipunan.

On its 55th year of existence, the PHA is challenged more than ever to continue its mission of bringing the illuminating light of awareness and appreciation of Philippine history to the dark recesses and niches of Philippine society so that through this flame our people may truly grasp the true meaning of citizenship and become intrepid guardians of our nation's honor and patrimony.

PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Presidents 1955-2010

1955	Gabriel F. Fabella	1983	Romeo V. Cruz
1956	Gabriel F. Fabella	1984	Rosario M. Cortes
1957	Gabriel F. Fabella	1985	Rosario M. Cortes
1958	Nicolas A. Zafra	1986	Oscar L. Evangelista
1959	Gabriel F. Fabella	1987	Oscar L. Evangelista
1960	Esteban A. de Ocampo	1988	Napoleon J. Casambre
1961	Dalmacio Martin	1989	Napoleon J. Casambre
1962	Ricardo A. Arcilla (acting)	1990	Cesar P. Pobre (acting)
1962	Nicolas A. Zafra	1991	Cesar P. Pobre
1963	Esteban A. de Ocampo	1992	Cesar P. Pobre
1964	Esteban A. de Ocampo	1993	Milagros Guerrero
1965	Gregorio F. Zaide	1994	Epitacio S. Palispis
1966	Gregorio F. Zaide	1995	Epitacio S. Palispis
1967	Celedonio A. Ancheta	1996	Oscar L. Evanelista
1968	Sixto Y. Orosa	1997	Oscar L. Evangelista
1969	Esteban A. de Ocampo	1998	Pablo S. Trillana III
1970	Esteban A. de Ocampo	1999	Pablo S. Trillana III
1971	Gloria M. Santos	2000	Ambeth R. Ocampo
1972	Gloria M. Santos	2001	Ambeth R. Ocampo
1973	Celedonio O. Resurreccion	2002	Cesar P. Pobre
1974	Celedonio O. Resurreccion	2003	Cesar P. Pobre
1975	Diosdado G. Capino	2004	Evelyn A. Miranda
1976	Diosdado G. Capino	2005	Evelyn A. Miranda
1977	Ma. Minerva A. Gonzalez	2006	Celestina P. Boncan
1978	Ma. Minerva A. Gonzalez	2007	Celestina P. Boncan
1979	Bonifacio S. Salamanca	2008	Celestina P. Boncan
1980	Bonifacio S. Salamanca	2009	Evelyn A. Songco
1981	Filipinas E. Pineda	2010	Evelyn A. Songco
1982	Romeo V. Cruz		

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FOR A TRUER PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE*

Gabriel F. Fabella

The Philippine Historical Association (PHA) was established in 1955 with a mission to promote historical study. While the work of historical research and writing to which the talent and energy of the PHA are pledged is great, the PHA found special encouragement in the form of support of no less a person than the Honorable Ramon Magsaysay, President of the Republic of the Philippines.

The article presents the arguments by the PHA for a program of historical research and writing and its encouragement from all quarters --- official and private. Given this imperative, the article lays down the goals to be undertaken by the PHA for fulfillment in the short-term, those within a generation, and even those for the long-haul.

*KEYWORDS: Research*Language Training*Philippine Revolution History*Guerrilla History*Municipal History*Nation-Building*

- Inaugural Address delivered at Malacañang Palace at the induction of the 1955 Board of Governors of the Philippine Historical Association by President Ramon Magsaysay on December 12, 1955; published in *Historical Bulletin* Vol. 1 July 1957 No. 1

We have barely scratched the surface of historical research and writing in the field of Philippine history. In the past, writers on Philippine history were for the most part foreigners. It was only very recently that Filipino scholars, in the face of public apathy and straightened circumstances, devoted some of their time to writing the history of their country. Of course, we need the viewpoint of foreign writers to lend balance and provide challenge to different evaluative interpretations. But at the same time Filipino historians should make their own contributions to historical knowledge for only Filipino scholars can present a true historical perspective of the history of the Philippines.

There are many gaps to be filled in Philippine history. Except for the monumental collection of the 55 volumes of Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, no comprehensive project has so far been undertaken in relation to many phases of Philippine history.

For example, nothing, or almost nothing, has been written about the Philippines before the 13th century which, as the history of other countries goes, is a fairly recent period. There must be some records somewhere in Indonesia and in other lands within the narrow arc of Southeast Asia which await the linguist-historian to unearth and decipher for whatever light they can throw on unknown points in the development of Philippine civilization. Somewhere in South Asia, including Southern China, there must be some important leads that a research historian can follow which may add immensely to our meager knowledge of important missing segments of Philippine history. The relations and contacts of the Philippines with other Asian countries have been mentioned in brief history books but only generally and fragmentarily. We must have fuller accounts of these relationships than what we now have.

But we cannot follow leads and tap hitherto untouched sources in Asia unless we know the language of Asian countries which brings us to the point that we should train young men and young women in the languages of those countries right here and now in our own universities or send them to those countries for

language training and research assignments. Whatever procedure is adopted or training mechanics followed, the point seems to be that the sources in Asia must be explored and exploited in order to enrich our knowledge of Philippine history.

Sources in Spain, in the British Museum, in Mexico, in museums and universities, in public and private libraries of the United States and elsewhere in the Western world must be tapped by professional Filipino researchers. Of course, this can be done only through financial assistance under the auspices of government or private foundations and even of wealthy individuals.

News of a rich and so-called "untapped source" that presumably would throw light on the history of the Philippine Revolution was mentioned by the Associated Press dispatch on November 19, 1955. The Associated Press said that "400,000 historical documents and records captured by the U.S. Army from Philippine revolutionary leaders more than 50 years ago may be heading back to Manila soon --- if Congress agrees." This should be welcome news for researchers. Unfortunately, the discovery of these sources is attributed by local papers to someone who has just returned from the United States, as though no one before him knew anything about the said documents. As a matter of fact, however, the late Dean Maximo M. Kalaw, while being secretary of Resident Commissioner Manuel L. Quezon, had occasion to utilize those documents in writing his books. Dr. Leandro H. Fernandez, while preparing his dissertation, *The Philippine Republic*, secured special permission to use some of those documents. Dr. Honesto A. Villanueva, under similar circumstances, had access to said documents. Attorney Macario S. Balco who works in the Army Department at Washington D.C. handled those documents as they were transferred from one building to another. When the Speaker was in Washington D.C. in the fall and winter of 1953-1954, he saw most of those documents and succeeded in having J.R.M. Taylor's *Philippine Insurrection against the United States* (still in galley proof) microfilmed for the first time. In fact, Professor Teodoro A. Agoncillo, in an article in the Philippines Free Press of 6 March

1954, called the attention of the President to those records which he thought must be recovered from the United States. Incidentally, Agoncillo has a complete photostat copy of the trial of Andres Bonifacio. It is quite amusing how our local papers could make such a mistake as though they are unaware of what had been written before. But let credit be where it is due, and perhaps, it might be admitted that the so-called "discovery" helped to arouse public interest in the insurgent records now in the National Archives of the United States. Their return to the Philippines would be a great boon to historians and researchers on the Philippine Revolution. But there are so many other sources in the Library of Congress and other libraries in the United States and elsewhere that could fill the gaps in Philippine history. Some qualified researchers must be sent to the United States to undertake the difficult assignment.

The guerrilla history has yet to be written, and so has the Japanese Occupation, but more important and as urgent, I believe is the writing of the history of the provinces. This has not been done before, at least not systematically. By this is not meant that private persons and individuals have not attempted this task for a few names could be cited. For example, the late Manuel Artigas tried to write a history of his province, Leyte, but failed. The late director of the National Library, Eulogio B. Rodriguez, wrote a history of the province of Bataan and we have heard of a project in Agusan undertaken mostly by teachers and encouraged by the provincial governor. The province of Rizal under the leadership of Governor Wenceslao Pascual started last year a municipal history contest, and if my informant is correct, a complete history of Rizal province is their next objective.

The project of writing the history of the provinces should not be undertaken by government historians for officialese slanting could well vitiate the historical value of such a project. It should be done by historians employed in the universities or commissioned by private foundations. Or, if the government finances such a project, it shall be stipulated that the historians are guaranteed the utmost freedoms to analyze and

evaluate no matter where the chips fall. That would seem to be the only way to make the effort respected and worthwhile.

Speaking of freedom of historical writing --- that is, prejudice-free kind of writing --- I would like to mention at this juncture a trend that prostitutes the talent and calling of the historians. I refer to the peculiar sort of history writing that courts the money changers in the market-place or that caters to the whims of pressure and vested groups. Thus, we may write "Philippine History for Catholic Schools," for example, which can easily be reinforced with "Philippine History for the Knights of Columbus and Catholic Action." And to be more balanced, we can lift the fulcrum to the other extreme and as a counterpoise write "Philippine History for Protestants and Masons, Aglipayans and the Witnesses of Jehovah," perhaps for the members of the "Spirit of 1896."

The ridiculous and ludicrous result of this kind of intellectual clowning is too obvious to need any decent enlargement. Already, efforts are being exerted to slant the facts about Rizal and the Philippine Revolution and to belittle the libertarian and nationalist basis of Filipino historical literature.

A historian is first and last a historian of severe integrity and his loyalties must be pledged and dedicated singly to the truth. The truth is his only master and his personal affiliations and preferences must be considered peripheral, or better, must be submerged and subdued, in deference to the truth, no matter whether these affiliations and preferences be economic, political or religious.

The moment we bat for pressure groups and vested interests or allow ourselves to be enslaved by their viewpoints --- whether they be governmental or private --- we degenerate into mere hacks and propagandists and we defile the high calling of the historians. Of course, our evaluations may differ and our discernments may vary according to our gifts, but this fact does not give license to a historian worthy of the name to falsify records to fit his conclusions.

Now, on the subject of research in the Philippines, perhaps, we are just being impatient but the fact is that research here is very little understood and, therefore, not appreciated. A Filipino may go abroad to America or to Europe to acquire research knowledge and skills in any field only to return to his own country to do nothing, or to do something else in order to eke out a marginal livelihood. Imagine so much talent and money and time wasted.

Our universities generally do not encourage research or do so in so many words but without the proper inducement. They overload their professors with work and compute their daily pay according to the number of courses (I mean periods) they teach. And they teach a minimum of six or seven periods. In some universities, professors teach as many as eight or more periods (30 hours a week) in order to earn enough salary to support a family. Our university professors cannot be creative producers under that kind of dispensation and no wonder they have no time to read new books in their fields of specialty, and no wonder, too, that they have no time to think, much less to do research work and write. This is the most expensive kind of economy.

From that hard fact, let me turn to another fact just as hard, namely, that in the Philippines the people lean heavily upon their government and look to it for everything that they themselves can and must do. Perhaps, this attitude will change as we become more mature. And so, as the people are beginning to develop and as they cannot yet wholly take care of themselves, the government is expected to help gradually by setting the pace for them. Perhaps, this is a wise and inevitable way of nurturing a people to eventual self-reliance and government assistance is necessary in the initial stages of nation-building.

If this is a correct statement, and if historical research and writing are part of nation-building --- and I claim that they are an important part --- then the Philippine Historical Association may be deserving of government encouragement and assistance. Due recognition and acknowledgment of the moral and financial support of the President of the Philippines

have been made in the beginning of these remarks. This pace-setting example, coming as it does from such an exalted source, will impart to historical scholarship new impetus and generate new enthusiasms for creative productions.

THE 'CRY OF BALINTAWAK' AS A HISTORICAL PROBLEM*

Nicolas A. Zafra

The "Cry of Balintawak" was the opening event of the Philippine Revolution. As symbolized by the sculptured figure of a *Katipunero* on top of the Balintawak Monument, it was a bold and reckless act of defiance against Spanish power and sovereignty in the Philippines. However, the so-called "Cry of Balintawak," as a fact of history, is still much of a historical problem.

The article discusses two things that make the Cry of Balintawak a historical problem --- where and when the Cry took place. The article reproduces various works of Filipino scholars to show how divergent and contradictory accounts are, thus contributing in making the "Cry of Balintawak" as one of the controversial issues in Philippine history.

KEYWORDS: *Balintawak*Pugad Lawin*Pio Valenzuela* Guillermo Masangkay*Teodoro Agoncillo*The Revolt of the Masses*Santiago Alvarez*

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The "Cry of Balintawak" was a momentous step taken by the Katipunan in pursuance of its great purpose which was to liberate the Philippines from the domination of Spain. Because of its prominence as an event of a memorable episode in our history, it is to be presumed that at least the main facts of that event have been definitely determined. Strange as it may seem however, our knowledge even of the more important points relating to that event is as yet uncertain and confused.

The spot on which the event is believed to have taken place is now marked by the Balintawak Monument. The monument was unveiled amidst impressive ceremonies on September 3, 1911. According to the inscription on the monument, the "Cry of Balintawak" took place on August 26, 1896.

The historical accuracy of the inscription, however, is now seriously doubted. It is because the versions on that event in the writings of Filipino scholars disagree on important details of that event.

In his book *La Revolucion Filipina*, Teodoro M. Kalaw wrote as follows:

The Revolution began in Balintawak in the last week of August 1896. The forces of Bonifacio were not yet adequately prepared but the unexpected discovery of the Katipunan by Father Mariano Gil, pastor of Tondo, and the rigorous measures that the government took against the innocent as well as the guilty, precipitated the war. Hundreds of persons were arrested. Bonifacio at once held a meeting of Katipuneros in Kangkong, Kalookan. It was a tumultuous meeting. Everybody was excited. There were, however, some at the meeting who believed that the meeting was not propitious for an uprising. After some discussion, the radicals led by Bonifacio and Jacinto triumphed. Having made their decision, the Katipuneros swore not to return to their homes. To show that from that moment they renounced their

allegiance to Spain, they tore their certificates of citizenship --- the *cedula personal*.

Leandro H. Fernandez in his work *The Philippine Republic* wrote:

At the time the Katipunan was betrayed, a decision had been reached by the members of the Society, though not without a dissenting element, that the time to strike had come. On August 17, two days before the fateful discovery in the printing establishment of the *Diario de Manila* of the lithographic stone used by the Katipuneros to print their receipts, Andres Bonifacio and his associates had agreed, in a large meeting held in a village of the town of Kalookan, to begin the revolt. On August 20, another meeting held in Balintawak definitely decided the matter and, with the cry of "Long Live the Philippine Republic," set August 30 as the date of a general assault on the capital.

In his *History of the Philippines*, Conrado Benitez has the following version:

On August 20, at the last of a series of meetings held in Kangkong, a barrio of Kalookan, Bonifacio and his followers decided to attack Manila on August 29. That decision marked the triumph of the radicals under the leadership of Bonifacio and Jacinto. Resolved not to return home, the Katipuneros, as proof of the determination to break off their allegiance to Spain, tore up their *cedulas* (certificates of residence), shouting: "Long Live the Philippine Republic."

In his work *The Philippine Revolution*, Dr. Gregorio Zaide wrote:

After the discovery of the Katipunan, Bonifacio and his men fled to the hills of Balintawak, a few miles north of Manila, and there proclaimed on August 26, 1896 the Revolution against Spain. This event known

in history as the "Cry of Balintawak," marked the beginning of the Philippine Revolution.

In the morning of August 26, 1896 the Katipuneros held a stormy meeting on the yard of a shack belonging to Juan Ramos, son of Melchora Aquino. One thousand Katipuneros armed with bolos, bamboo spears, bows and arrows, and some pistols and rifles, attended the meeting.

Andres Bonifacio, in *barong tagalog* and with a *bolo* and a revolver, presided over the meeting, with Jacinto acting as secretary. In a fiery mood, Bonifacio explained emphatically the desperate situation, and asked what the assembled patriots would do. Those present seemed divided in their stand, for there ensued a long and heated discussion. Many wanted revolution at once; others demurred on the ground that there were not enough men, arms, money, and provisions.

Bonifacio, rising to heights of fervor, thundered: "You know the fate of our countrymen who were shot at Bagumbayan. If we return to our homes, the Spaniards will shoot us. Our organization has been discovered. We are marked men. If we do not start the uprising, the Spaniards will get us just the same. What then do you say?"

"Fight!" screamed the crowd in unison. Bonifacio, holding his *cedula* certificate, symbol of vassalage to Spain, dramatically tore it to pieces. As he flung the fragments away, he shouted: "Long Live Philippine Independence!"

The people, likewise, tore their *cedulas* and echoed the cry, littering the meeting ground with mutilated tax certificates.

Teodoro Agoncillo's version as found in his *The Revolt of the Masses* is, in part, as follows:

That night of August 19, Andres Bonifacio, together with Jacinto, Procopio Bonifacio, Teodoro Plata, and Aguedo del Rosario, slipped through the cordon of Spanish sentries, reaching Balintawak before midnight. In the afternoon of the 21st the rebels numbering around 500 left Balintawak and proceeded to the neighboring hamlet of Kangkong where Apolonio Samson, a Katipunan man, gave them food and lodging. Here the next morning, the revolutionists exchanged views on the revolution but did not pass any resolution. It was in Pugad Lawin where they proceeded upon leaving Samson's place in the afternoon of the 22nd that the more than 1,000 members of the Katipunan met in the yard of Juan Ramos, son of Melchora Aquino, the famed "mother" of the Katipuneros, in the morning of August 23rd. Considerable discussion arose whether the revolt against the Spanish government should be started on the 29th. Only one man protested against the plan of revolt at such an early date, and it was Bonifacio's own brother-in-law, Teodoro Plata. But he was overruled in his stand that the time was not yet propitious for such desperate action, that there was a dearth of arms and ammunition, and then the rebels then announced the decision and, standing on an improvised platform, Bonifacio shouted: "Brothers, it was agreed to continue the plan of revolt. My brothers, do you swear to repudiate the government that oppresses us?" And the rebels, shouting as one man replied, "Yes sir." "That being the case," Bonifacio added, "bring out your *cedulas* and tear them to pieces to symbolize our determination to take up arms." There was a rustle of papers and in a minute the yard was littered with torn *cedulas*. Amidst this ceremony, the rebels, with tear-stained eyes, shouted: "Long live the Philippines! Long live the Katipunan!"

Apart from these accounts, we have the testimonies of persons who were contemporaneous with the events of 1896 and who had first-hand knowledge of those events. Of these, the following are particularly noteworthy as sources of information:

Guillermo Masangkay
 ("A Katipunero Speaks," *Sunday Tribune Magazine*,
 August 21, 1932)

According to the author who was present on the historic occasion, the "Cry of Balintawak" took place on August 26, 1896 near the spot where the monument now stands. He thus confirmed in its essential details the version as given in the inscription on the monument.

Dr. Pio Valenzuela
 ("Memoirs of the K.K.K." and his statement published in the
Sunday Times, Manila, August 29, 1948)

In these accounts, Dr. Valenzuela gave his readers to understand that certain points in the officially accepted version of the so-called "Cry of Balintawak" were not in accord with historical reality. In the first place, it was at Pugad Lawin, not in Balintawak, in the yard of Juan Ramos, son of Melchora Aquino, where the decision was made to take up arms. Dr. Valenzuela further stated that the event took place on August 23, not on August 26, 1896. According to him, at the close of the meeting at Pugad Lawin, which was tumultuous, the Katipuneros tore their *cedula* certificates and shouted, "Long live the Philippines! Long live the Katipunan!"

Santiago Alvarez
 ("Ang Katipunan at Paghihimagsik")

Alvarez, like Guillermo Masangkay and Dr. Pio Valenzuela, was a prominent member of the Katipunan. His account was, according to his own testimony, prepared from notes which he wrote down contemporaneously with the events about which he wrote.

The portion of Alvarez's account referring to the events of August 1896 is the following:

Sunday August 23, 1896

As early as 10 o'clock in the morning at the house and barn of *Kabesang* Melchora (Aquino), barrio of Bahay Toro, Katipuneros arrived ready and eager to join the "Supremo" Andres Bonifacio and his men.

Monday August 24, 1896

There were about 1,000 Katipuneros. The "Supremo" decided to hold a meeting inside the big barn. Under his presidency, the meeting began at 10 o'clock in the morning. It was 12 o'clock noon when the meeting was adjourned amidst loud cries of "Long live the Sons of the Country" (*Mabuhay ang mga Anak ng Bayan*).

Tuesday August 25, 1896

At two o'clock in the afternoon, a Katipunero look-out, watching from a *sampalok* tree, reported that enemy troops were approaching. The Katipuneros immediately made ready to meet the enemy. At a point between Kangkong, Balintawak and Bahay Toro, a brief encounter took place.

Oligario Diaz

("Report dated October 28, 1896")

Diaz was an officer of the Guardia Civil Veterana. His account was prepared on the basis of official reports of the doings of the Guardia Civil and on information given by persons who either were seized or captured by the Spaniards, following the discovery of the Katipunan, or voluntarily surrendered, taking advantage of the offer of amnesty extended to Filipino rebels by Governor General Ramon Blanco in his proclamation of August 30, 1896.

The passages in the "Report" relating to the events of August 1896 are the following:

The conspiracy having been discovered, Bonifacio and his followers fled to the nearby town of Caloocan. For a time he stayed in the house of the *capitan municipal* of Caloocan, at another time in

that of his father-in-law, Adriano de Jesus. On the 23rd Bonifacio moved to the barrio of Balintauac (sic) followed by 200 men from Caloocan; on the 24th they were attacked by the Guardia Civil in the outskirts of the said town and they retreated to their hiding places.

The Supreme Council called for a big meeting to be held the following day in the above-mentioned barrio. More than 500 members attended. The meeting began with a discussion of what course should be taken in the face of the new situation and in view of some who were disposed to go back and surrender to the Spanish government. Bonifacio was strongly opposed to such a course. He was for taking up arms at once. Put to a vote, Bonifacio's proposal was approved by an overwhelming majority.

From the statements above presented, it will be readily seen how numerous and varied are the points of disagreement, both among primary and secondary authorities, on the so-called "Cry of Balintawak." No less than four different places have been pointed out as the scene of that memorable event --- Balintawak, Kangkong, Pugad Lawin, and Bahay Toro. Besides, five different dates are mentioned for the event --- August 20, August 23, August 24, August 25, and August 26.

As regards the "Cry" itself, the discrepancies are likewise quite marked. The versions differ as to the exact words the Katipuneros uttered. In two of the accounts (Fernandez and Benitez), we are told that the Katipuneros shouted "Long Live the Philippine Republic!" Another version (Zaide) says that it was Bonifacio who gave the "Cry" and that his words were "Long Live Philippine Independence!" Agoncillo claims that the words spoken were "Long Live the Philippines!" Alvarez's version was that the Katipuneros uttered "Long Live the Sons of the Country!"

It goes without saying that, with all their disagreements and contradictions, the statements just quoted cannot all be true and faithful representations of historical reality. For a historical

fact, understanding that term to mean what actually took place in the past, is unique, absolute, unchanging. It is circumscribed by definite boundaries in space and in time. It happened only once. It will never happen again in its original form and substance.

It is our knowledge or understanding of a historical fact that is relative, constantly subject to revision, adjustment or modification. It is because a historical fact has characteristics of its own which render it unique and distinctive. Foremost among these is that it can be perceived or understood only through its traces, through what has been said or written about it. Now, the records of an event are usually in the nature of recollections of what a person believes to have happened at a given spot in space and in time. Such recollections are subject to numerous conditioning factors and influences. Faults of memory, errors of perception, bias, prejudice, the presence of some ulterior motive which induces a person to falsify or distort a fact of history --- all operate singly or collectively to obscure or vitiate our knowledge or understanding of the past.

Of the studies so far made on the Katipunan Revolt, that by Prof. Teodoro Agoncillo entitled *The Revolt of the Masses* is by far the most detailed and exhaustive. It was adjudged the best entry in a contest conducted in 1947-48 for a biography on Andres Bonifacio.

Close students of Philippine history naturally expected that the author would take up the problem of the "Cry of Balintawak" and endeavor to clear up the points in controversy. The author, however, did not come up to the expectations of his readers. At least not to the author of this article and those colleagues of his in the Department of History, University of the Philippines, who, in a seminar held in the Department shortly after the publication of the book, reviewed the book as a work of historical scholarship. Their review appeared in a series of articles published in *The Manila Times* during the month of October 1956.

The authors of the review said:

It is regrettable that Agoncillo has not seen fit to clear up the confusion that still prevails on this point in the history of the Revolution. All that he has done is to accept the version of Valenzuela without question. He has not told his readers why he considered the testimony of Valenzuela more reliable and more authoritative than that of any of the other contemporary witnesses. Considering the character and standing of the persons whose testimony has been cited and the excellent opportunities for accurate observation of the events about which they wrote, what they had to say regarding those events is deserving of the utmost consideration and respect.

Replying to our criticism, Prof. Agoncillo said:

It is inaccurate of my critics to have said that I had not "seen fit to clear up the confusion" regarding the date of the so-called "Cry of Balintawak." I did not, as stated in my "Foreword," include discussion of doubtful points in the main body of the book in order not to distract my readers' attention. Why did I dismiss some of the authorities cited by my critics and rely mostly on Dr. Valenzuela's testimony? The reason is simple: Dr. Valenzuela was close to Bonifacio; he was with the *Supremo* during those tumultuous days after the discovery of the Katipunan and he wrote his memoirs in the 1920s. On the other hand, Santiago Alvarez, cited by my critics, was not with the rebels during those critical hours of the Katipunan, but in Cavite. How, then, could he have known from first-hand knowledge when the "Cry" took place? Then again, General Aguinaldo did not believe that the traditional "Cry" ever took place on August 26, 1896. Why did I give weight to the testimony of General Aguinaldo when the fact is he was not with the rebels at the time? Because his own man and representative to the Katipunan assembly, Domingo Orcullo, was with the rebels and reported back to General Aguinaldo what actually transpired. As to Masangkay's testimony, I did not give much weight to his early testimony because while in 1932 he said that the "Cry" took place on August 26, 1896,

he nullified this in 1947, in the course of an interview with him, that the "Cry" took place on August 24, 1896. There are, therefore, two reliable testimonies in favor of August 23, 1896 as the date of the "Cry." I accepted August 23, 1896 as the correct date of the "Cry" and implied in my book that the "Cry" meant the moment the rebels tore up their *cedulas* to pieces.

Prof. Agoncillo's explanation was not deemed sound and convincing. At least that is how the author of this article felt at the time and does feel still.

In the above-quoted passage of his article, Prof. Agoncillo cited two testimonies which he considered "reliable" in support of his claim, namely, that of Valenzuela and that of General Aguinaldo.

In connection with the first, attention was called to the fact that Prof. Agoncillo was not quite consistent in his appraisal of the reliability of Valenzuela's testimony. In one part of his book, he gave his readers to understand that Valenzuela "lied" with respect to many things concerning the doings of the Katipunan. And yet, on the question of the "Cry," he gave utmost confidence to Valenzuela's testimony. If Valenzuela "lied," with respect to certain matters dealt with in his testimony, what assurance do we have that with respect to the "Cry" his testimony is worthy of credence?

With regard to General Aguinaldo's testimony, supposed to have been made on the basis of information furnished him by his representative, Domingo Orcullo, it was pointed out that no evidence was adduced by Prof. Agoncillo to substantiate his assumption that Orcullo was present at Pugad Lawin on August 23, 1896. Moreover, even assuming that Orcullo did attend the Katipunan meeting, his report to General Aguinaldo as to the place and date of the "Cry" could have been a confirmation of the testimony of Valenzuela, for General Aguinaldo's own version is that the "Cry" did not take place at the date and place mentioned by Valenzuela but at San Juan del Monte. General

Agunaldo's version was, by the way, corroborated by General Pio del Pilar and Colonel Sinforoso San Pedro (Zaide 1954).

Although as Prof. Agoncillo stated, Santiago Alvarez was in Cavite at the outbreak of the Katipunan uprising, there is one thing about his account that entitles it to utmost consideration and respect. In the first place, it was prepared, as Alvarez himself stated, from notes which he kept of events of the Katipunan of which he had personal knowledge and experience. What he knew of men and events of his time was derived, not from memory, but from notes written contemporaneously with the events. As between Valenzuela's facts recorded from memory years later, and those of Alvarez derived from contemporary notes, it is unwise, to say the least, to accept the first without question and simply dismiss the other without much ado. Man is, by nature, "subject to vagaries of memory." It is well to bear in mind that "the strongest memory is weaker than the palest ink." (Morrison 1917)

Moreover, it should be noted that while Santiago Alvarez was not present at the scene of the "Cry," he could have had good opportunities for securing information about that event from reliable sources. It can well be presumed that he had among his sources one of unquestioned reliability, namely, Andres Bonifacio himself. For, as is well known, Bonifacio went to Cavite and while there, he was in close contact with Mariano and Santiago Alvarez, prominent members of the Magdiwang Council of the Katipunan and closely related by blood to his wife. It is reasonable to presume, therefore, that Santiago Alvarez obtained from Bonifacio himself much of the information about the "Cry" which he wrote down in his notes. If such an assumption is correct, his version is of utmost importance as a source of information and, therefore, cannot very well be ignored.

It would seem, therefore, that Prof. Agoncillo's claim regarding the place and date of the "Cry" does not rest on solid and stable foundation. As a close student of the Revolution, his is the opportunity to clear up the uncertainty and confusion that

still prevails with respect to this memorable event in our history. He should deal with the problem in thorough fashion, bringing to bear upon it historical evidence of unquestioned worth and back up his findings and conclusions with sound, convincing and irresistible logic.

To those outside the circle of devoted and loyal followers of the Muse of History, it may appear pointless and unprofitable for us to concern ourselves with such insignificant and unimportant matters as the date or the scene of an event of history. It should, however, be borne in mind that to seek the truth as regards men and events of the past is the supreme ideal, the overriding purpose of historical scholarship. Historians inspired by the ideal feel it their duty and responsibility to seek the solution of a historical problem no matter how insignificant or unimportant may be the objective of the undertaking.

In the case of the so-called "Cry of Balintawak," it is to be hoped that through further study and research on the part of our qualified scholars, the problem will be definitely settled so that our knowledge of this point of our history may be placed on a thoroughly sound and satisfactory basis, all to the credit, honor, and glory of historical scholarship in our country.

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INTERPRETATIONS OF THE IDEALS AND TEACHINGS OF OUR NATIONAL HEROES*

Esteban A. de Ocampo

The great majority of our heroes lived during the time that our country was subject to the domination of foreign conquerors, first under the oppressive rule of the Spaniards and later under the benevolent authority of the Americans. The ideals of our great men and their teachings are very simply formulated and stated. The sources of our heroes' teachings are to be found in their writings and in the examples of their own lives.

The article presents the ideals and teachings of the more familiar Philippine heroes who led in the struggle for emancipation from colonial rule by Spain and America. The article enlivens the presentation of these ideals and teachings by directly quoting lines and phrases from their most famous works.

KEYWORDS: *Jose Rizal*Andres Bonifacio*Apolinario Mabini*Emilio Aguinaldo*Emilio Jacinto*Sergio Osmeña*Manuel Quezon*

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The Ideals of Our National Heroes

The first and foremost ideal of our national heroes was to live under a government that was free, independent and prosperous. Lapulapu and his followers fought Magellan because the latter wanted to impose Spanish sovereignty over these Islands in 1521. Bonifacio, Aguinaldo and their fellow Katipuneros fought ferociously against the better armed and better organized Spanish forces in order to establish a free and independent Philippines. The third point in Bonifacio's *Decalogue* says:

“Itanim sa iyong puso na ang tunay na kahalagahan ng puri't kaginhawahan ay ang ikaw'y mamatay dahil sa ikaliligtas ng Inang Bayan.” (Engrave in thy heart that the true measure of honor and happiness is to die for the freedom of thy country).

About two months after the Cry of Pugad Lawin (August 23, 1896), General Aguinaldo issued (on October 31) a *Manifesto* to his countrymen in which he said:

“People of the Philippines, the hour has come to shed our blood to conquer our liberty. Let us band ourselves about the flag of the Revolution whose motto is Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

“The Philippines present today a spectacle without precedent in their history, the conquest of their liberty and their independence, the most noble and lofty of their rights --- a heroism which will place them on the same level as civilized nations inspires them. We know that real progress in a people is based upon liberty and independence. Hence, this right inspires the most noble and sublime emotions which a citizen can feel --- feeling them he should not yield to the fear that our interests or our families may suffer, nor should he tremble at shedding blood to break the chain of slavery which we have dragged for three hundred years of tyranny and abuse.”

In his essay entitled “The Philippines within a Century,”

Rizal warned Spanish authorities that Filipinos would someday revolt against their sovereignty if the needed reforms in the Philippines were not granted:

"Therefore, we repeat, and we will ever repeat while there is time, that it is better to keep pace with the desires of a people than to give way before them. The former policy begets sympathy and love; the latter, contempt and anger."

Two years prior to writing this essay, Rizal wrote to his friend, Prof. Ferdinand Blumentritt:

"I assure you that I have no desire to take part in conspiracies which seem to me too premature and risky. But if the Spanish government drives us to them, that is to say, when no other hope remains to us but seek our destruction in war, when Filipinos would prefer to die rather than endure longer their misery, then I will also become a partisan of violent means. The choice of peace or destruction is in the hands of Spain because it is a clear fact, known to all, that we Filipinos are patient, excessively patient and peaceful, mild, unfeeling, etc. But everything ends in this life; there is nothing eternal in the world and that refers also to our patience."

The second ideal of our national heroes was "union and cooperation" to attain their common aspiration. The late President Sergio Osmeña, speaking of Rizal's ideas on Filipino unity, said:

Looking toward the future, he (Rizal) recognized the necessity of national discipline and preached unity among his countrymen so that their campaign in Spain could be made effective. 'Union, goodwill and harmony --- these are what we need so much' --- he wrote to Lopez Jaena in March 1889. In May of the same year, he also said in a letter to Mariano Ponce that it was necessary to 'preserve union above all.' In the same year, he again wrote to friends in Barcelona stressing the need for harmony and unity among

Filipinos. He said: "I'm confident that we shall go forward, always united, with our hands outstretched in friendship, giving to one another mutual help and counsel. We know too well that the first aim of Rizal's *La Liga Filipina* was 'to unite the whole archipelago into one compact, vigorous and homogeneous body' while its second object was 'mutual protection in every want and necessity.' It is also common knowledge that the union of all patriots was the paramount aim of Bonifacio's Katipunan organization, while its second aim was to win Philippine independence by force of arms, if necessary."

Another ideal of our revered heroes was the establishment in the country of a government under the regime of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." This idea was embodied in Aguinaldo's Manifesto quoted in an earlier paragraph. Regarding "Liberty," the Great Malayan said: "Give liberties so that no one may have a right to conspire."

On the "equality of men," Rizal wrote: "Men are born equal, naked and without chains. They were not created by God to be enslaved, neither were they endowed with intelligence in order to be misled, nor adorned with reason to be fooled with others." From the teachings of the Katipunan (by Emilio Jacinto), we read the following: "All men are equal, be the color of their skin black or white. One may be superior to another in knowledge, wealth and beauty but cannot be superior in being."

On "fraternity" or brotherhood, the tenth point in Mabini's *True Decalogue* runs:

"Thou shalt consider thy countryman more than thy neighbor, thou shalt see in him thy friend, thy brother, or at least thy comrade, with whom thou art bound by one fate, by the same joys and sorrows, and by common aspirations and interests."

As a fourth ideal of our great heroes, they would like to see our country and people enjoy economic or material

prosperity. When Rizal was facing trial for his life in December 1896, he wrote these lines:

"...my companions and countrymen have attacked me as it can be seen in the judicial records because they considered me as *a man of little practical sense and a dreamer*. I favored first solidarity, the establishment of factories, of industries, of banks, etc. Consequently, I lent moral and material support to those who studied trades and industries in Europe. I myself devoted much of my time to the study of ceramics, tannery, cement manufacturing, etc. *My dream has been the prosperity of my country*. I knew that by force of arms it was impossible to obtain freedom, and much less independence, since that would not be countenanced by other colonizing nations as England, Germany, etc. Japan in time would devour us. But with a prosperous and learned people, freedom would not be denied (the country) for long. I longed for a Filipino people showing itself worthy, noble and honest because a people that through cowardice and vice becomes despicable exposes itself to abuses and vexations. Man, in general, oppresses him whom he despises; and this is what I was wont to say to those who came to me with complaints: "If we were more worthy, they would not do such things to us."

Rizal further made the following statement:

Its (La Liga Filipina's) aims were solidarity and promotion of commerce, industry, etc. because I realized that a country cannot have freedoms without having first material prosperity; that to have freedoms without having something to eat is like listening to speeches when one is fasting.

As a fifth ideal of our heroes, we can say that Rizal and his co-workers desired universal or popular education that was not controlled by the friars, a body of efficient and honest public officials and individual freedoms. During his exile in Dapitan, Captain Ricardo Carnicero, the politico-military governor, once

asked Rizal what reforms he desired for the Philippines. Rizal replied:

First of all, allow the Philippines to be represented in the Cortes, and this would stop the abuses committed by some people. Separate the friars from the government, put an end to the tutelage they exercise over the country, and distribute the parishes as they become vacant among all the priests, regardless of whether they are from Spain or the Philippines. Promote primary education, removing all intervention of friars, and giving one-half the positions of teachers to Filipinos. Reform all branches of the administration of the government so they will function with honesty. Create schools of arts and crafts in the capitals of all provinces with a population of over 16,000. Let there be freedom of the press and freedom of worship.

Teachings of Our National Heroes

As in the case of the ideals of our great men, their teachings are very simply formulated and stated. The sources of our heroes' teachings are to be found in their writings and in the examples of their own lives.

Love God; Have Faith in Divine Providence

"Ibigin mo ang Diyos ng buong puso" (Andres Bonifacio's *Decalogue* No. 1)

"Thou shalt love God and thy honor above all things: God as the fountain of all truth, of all justice, and of all activity; and thy honor, the only power which will oblige thee to be faithful, just and industrious" (Apolinario Mabini's *True Decalogue* No. 1)

Thou shalt worship God in the form which thy conscience may deem most righteous and worthy; for in thy conscience which condemns thy evil deeds and praises thy good ones, speaks thy God" (Apolinario Mabini's *True Decalogue* No. 2)

"Have faith in Divine Providence that guides the destinies of men and nations" (Manuel Quezon's *Code of Ethics*)

Love our Country; Die for It if Necessary

"Love your country for it is the home of your people, the seat of your affections, and the source of your happiness and well-being. Its defense is your primary duty. Be ready at all times to sacrifice and die for it if necessary" (Manuel Quezon's *Code of Ethics*)

"Always bear in mind that true love of God is love of thy country and that this love is also the true love for thy fellow men" (Andres Bonifacio's *Decalogue No. 2*)

"Engrave in thy heart that the height of honor and happiness is to die in order to save one's country" (Andres Bonifacio's *Decalogue No. 3*)

"Thou shalt love thy country after God and thy honor more than thyself; for she is the only Paradise which God has given thee in this life, the only patrimony of thy race, the only inheritance of thy ancestors, and the only hope of thy posterity; because of her, thou hast life, love and interest, happiness, honor and God" (Apolinario Mabini's *True Decalogue No. 4*)

Respect our Constitution; Obey the Law and Duly Constituted Authorities

"Respect the Constitution which is the expression of your sovereign will. The government is your government. It has been established for your safety and welfare. Obey the laws and see that they are obeyed by all and that public officials comply with their duties" (Manuel Quezon's *Code of Ethics*)

"Thou shalt not recognize in thy country the authority of any person who has not been elected by thee and thy countrymen; for authority emanates from God and as God speaks in the conscience of every man, the person designated and proclaimed by the conscience of a whole people is the only one who can use

true authority” (Apolinario Mabini’s *True Decalogue*)

Love and Respect our Parents and Elders

“I wish that you take care of our parents, serve and love them, as you would like your children to take care of you, serve you and love you afterwards when you are in old age” (Jose Rizal to his sisters)

“Love and respect your parents. It is your duty to serve them gratefully and well” (Manuel Quezon’s *Code of Ethics*)

Love our Fellowmen

“Sa pag-ibig at pagdamay sa kapwa nagbubuhay ang tapat na loob at ang pagkakawanggawa, bulaklak na maganda ng mga pusong banal at matamis na lunas ng may sawing kapalaran” (Emilio Jacinto)

“Bahaginan mo ng iyong makakayanan ang sino mang mahirap at kapus-palad” (Andres Bonifacio)

Venerate our Heroes; Preserve Noble Traditions and Desirable Customs

“Live up to the noble traditions of our people. Venerate the memory of our heroes. Their lives point the way to duty and honor” (Manuel Quezon’s *Code of Ethics*)

“I die without seeing the dawn brighten over my native land! You who have it to see, welcome it --- and forget not those who have fallen during the night” (Jose Rizal)

Be Industrious and Thrifty

“Ang gumawa ay hindi parusa at hirap, kundi pala at kagalingan na ipinagkaloob ng Diyos sa tao, alaala ng di-matingkala niyang pag-ibig. Ang gumawa ay isa sa malaki’t mahalagang biyaya pagka’t sa pamamagitan nito ay nagigising at naragdagan ang

lakas ng isip, loob at katawan, mga bagay na kasanib at kinailangan ng kabuhayan" (Emilio Jacinto)

"Hail to labor! Blessed be it
for it brings our country wealth;
May we ever hold it sacred
'tis our country's life and death!" (Jose Rizal)

Get Educated; Promote Education

"Get educated. Use the schools of our country for as much as they can give. Learn from our older men what they know. Be a Filipino always, but an educated Filipino" (Jose Burgos)

"La igualdad es el fundamento de la libertad; la instrucción es el alma mater de la igualdad y de la libertad" (Graciano López Jaena)

"Deber nuestro es perfeccionar nuestra inteligencia por medio de la instrucción; debéis también proporcionar a vuestros semejantes los conocimientos que poseís y de que hubiesen menester" (Marcelo del Pilar)

"Go ahead then; study, study and meditate well what you study. Life is a very serious thing and only those with intelligence and courage go through it worthily" (Jose Rizal)

What to Teach our Children

"Raise your children close to the image of the true God --- the God who cannot be bribed, the God who is not partial, the God who does not fatten on the blood of the poor, who does not rejoice at the complaints of the afflicted and does not obfuscate the intelligent mind" (Jose Rizal to the Young Women of Malolos)

"Awaken and prepare the mind of the child for every good and desirable idea --- love for honor, sincere and firm character, clear mind, clean conduct, noble action, love for one's fellowmen, respect for God --- teach this to your children" (Jose Rizal to the

Young Women of Malolos)

“Teach your children to guard and love their honor, to love their fellowmen, their native land, and to perform their duties. Tell them repeatedly to prefer death with honor to life with dishonor”
(Jose Rizal to the Young Women of Malolos)

Conclusion

There are many more worthy teaching of our heroes and great men and women; these, together with their ideals, if religiously and seriously taken to heart by every Filipino as the rule and guide of their daily lives, would hasten the day when our country and people will be happy, prosperous and great.

RIZAL ON YOUTH*

Ricardo A. Arcilla

Jose Rizal's varied cultural interests and singular genius of unusual versatility awakened the admiration and inspired the emulation of every Filipino. His thoughts, life and labors have been the favorite subjects of prose, poetry and music. His diverse ideas in the broad field of knowledge, his artistic and aesthetic feelings and sensibilities, his limitless love for his country and people --- all these made him a giant among the dwarfs, a man of destiny beyond the call of duty.

The article dwells on Rizal's concern for the youth which may be seen through a selection of his literary works and also traces the various factors and influences that helped in the development of this attitude.

*KEYWORDS: A la juventud Filipina*Sa Aking Mga Kabata* El Filibusterismo* Himno a Talisay* Noli me Tangere*

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Rizal was very much concerned with the youth. Various factors and influences helped in the development of this attitude, but the most important was his mother, Doña Teodora Alonzo Realonda, not only because his mother was his first teacher during the critical period of his child development but also because of the traditional role which a wife and mother played at home. In his "Reminiscences," Rizal recalled, "The education that I received since my earliest infancy was perhaps what has shaped my habits." And one of the principal inducements for Rizal to take up medicine was his desire to cure the failing eyesight of his mother.

Rizal had high hopes for the Filipino youth --- "Fair hope of my Fatherland." In his teen age through his prize-winning poem *A la juventud filipina* (To the Filipino Youth), considered to be a classic in Philippine poetry, Rizal implored the Filipino youth to "rise from lethargy, to let his genius fly swifter than the wind and descend with art and science to break the chain that has long bound the poetic genius of the country."

Hold high thy brow serene,
O youth, where now you stand.
Let the bright sheen
of your grace be seen,
Fair hope of my fatherland!

Come down with pleasing light
of art and science to the flight
O youth, and there untie
the chains that heavy lie,
your spirit free to blight.

But above all, Rizal would like the youth to love his own native tongue. Strangely enough, he was barely eight years old when he manifested his poetic genius in his first known poem, *Sa Aking Mga Kabata* (To My Fellow Children):

Whenever people of a country truly love
the language which by heav'n they were taught to use
that country also surely liberty pursues
as does the bird which soars to freer space above.

Whoever knows not how to love his native tongue
 is worse than any beast or evil-smelling fish.
 To make our language richer ought to be our wish
 the same as any mother loves to feed her young.

In spite of his tender age, Rizal knew the importance of language as a factor in the development of nationality. As one author observes, "mankind instinctively takes language as the badge of nationality (Freeman 1960, 13).

The idea of developing and conserving a language had been reiterated in his later more serious work, *El Filibusterismo*. Protesting against the claim of the youthful Basilio that the Castilian language might unite the people, Simoun warned:

A gross error! You are letting yourselves to be deceived by big words and never go to the bottom of things to examine the results in their final analysis. Spanish will never be the language of the country; the people will never speak it because the conception of their brains and the feelings of their hearts cannot be expressed in that language --- each people has its own tongue as it has its own way of thinking! What are you going to do with Castilian, the few of you will speak it? Kill your own originality, subordinate your thoughts to other brains, and instead of freeing yourselves, make yourselves slaves indeed! ... While Russia enslaves Poland by forcing the Russian language upon it, while Germany prohibits French in conquered provinces, your government strives to preserve yours and you in return, a remarkable people under an incredible government, you are trying to despoil yourselves of your own nationality! One and all you forget that while a people preserve its language, it preserves the marks of its liberty as a man preserves his independence while he holds to his own way of thinking (Rizal 1956, 61)

Rizal believed that the youth is the guardian of family rights and does not run away for a right, cause or principle. While conducting his school for young boys in Dapitan during his exile there, Rizal wrote a poem on October 13, 1895 to be

sung by the said boys entitled *Himno a Talisay* (Hymn to the Talisay Tree), stating in part:

We are youth not long on earth
but our souls are free from sorrow;
Calm, strong men we'll be tomorrow
who can guard our families' rights.
Lads are we whom naught can frighten
whether thunder, waves or rain.
Swift of arm, serene of mien
in peril shall we wage our fights.

But Rizal thought that the training and the development of the youth was the prime responsibility of the mother. In his letter *To the Young Women of Malolos*, Rizal made this observation:

Youth is a flower-bed that is to bear rich fruit and must accumulate wealth for its descendants. What offspring will be that of a woman whose kindness of character is expressed by mumbled prayers; who knows nothing by heart but *awits*, *novenas*, and the alleged miracles; whose amusement consists in playing *panguingue* or in the frequent confession of the same sins? What sons will she have but acolytes, priest's servants or cock fighters? It is the mothers who are responsible for the present servitude of our compatriots, owing to the unlimited truthfulness of their loving hearts, to their ardent desire to elevate their sons. Maturity is the fruit of infancy and the infant is formed on the lap of its mother.

Then he urged Filipino mothers to be upright, honest and firm of purpose and to prepare the minds of their children against the storms of life:

Awaken and prepare the will of your children towards all that is honorable, judged by proper standards, to all that is sincere and firm of purpose, clear judgment, clear procedure, honesty in act and deed, love for the fellowman and respect for God; that is what you must teach your children. And,

seeing that life is full of thorns and thistles, you must fortify their minds against any stroke of adversity and accustom them to danger. The people cannot expect honor or prosperity so long as they educate their children in a wrong way, so long as the woman who guides the child in his first steps is slavish and ignorant. No good water comes from a turbid, bitter spring; no savory fruit comes from acrid seed (Zaide 1957, 209-216)

Rizal through his works and deeds set himself as an example for the youth to follow, unlike the proverbial priest who would say: "Do what I say but do not follow what I do." Before he left Hong Kong for Manila on June 20, 1892 even against the advice of friends and relatives due to a sure death that awaited him, Rizal made two letters; on each envelope was inscribed; "To be opened after my death." The first letter addressed *To My Parents, Brethren and Friends* contains, among others, the following:

I realize how much suffering I have caused you yet I do not regret what I have done. Rather, if I had to begin over again, I should do the same for what I have done has been only in the pursuit of my duty. Gladly do I go to expose myself to peril, not as an expiation of misdeeds (for in this matter I believe myself guiltless of any), but to complete my work and so that I myself may offer the example of which I have always preached.

A man ought to die for duty and his principles. I hold fast to every idea which I have advanced as to the condition and future of our country and shall willingly die for it, and even more willingly sacrifice all to secure justice and peace for you (Zaide 1957, 168).

There is something in the life of Rizal that was not made by him but made for him; it was not willed by him but through him --- that was his heroism, patriotism, martyrdom, and destiny.

He met death calmly and even willingly, not because he wanted to die, although "*morir es descansar*," but because he wanted to complete his work. As expressed through the lips of Maria Clara, Rizal said poetically:

Sweet are the hours in one's native land
 where all is dear the sunbeams bless;
 Life-giving breezes sweep the strand
 and death is soften'd by love's caress.
 Sweet is death for one's native land
 where all is dear the sunbeams bless;
 Dead is the breeze that sweeps the strand
 without a mother, home, or love's caress
 (Rizal 1956, 168)

In fact, his untimely death before a firing squad was like a fire wood that added fuel to a burning fire for the country was already a boiling cauldron of revolution which started at the Cry of Balintawak four months previous.

In his weak moments, Rizal became at times desperate but not discouraged; the abuses and injustices committed by his enemies grew in number and magnitude, causing great miseries and sorrows to his immediate relatives, friends and people. Perhaps, all alone by himself he would say in the same way as George Eliot had said it: "If there is an angel who records the sorrows of men as well as their sins, he knows how many and deep are the sorrows that spring from false ideas for which no man is culpable." And his hopelessness to effect changes on the conditions then prevailing found expression in his *Noli Me Tangere* through Elias who murmured as though praying: "I die without seeing the dawn brighten over my native land! You, who have to see, welcome it --- and forget not those who have fallen during the night!" (Rizal, 1956, 492)

As a man of purpose and determination, Rizal was never discouraged by defeats; his reverses merely added fresh energy and new enthusiasm for the accomplishment of his mission. Perhaps, he must have been influenced by the soothing advice of Longfellow in this wise:

Be still, sad heart! Cease repining,
 behind the clouds is the sun still shining;
 Thy fate is the common fate of all
 Into each life some rain must fall
 some days must be dark and dreary.

For all his failures, reverses and defeats, Rizal sought the Filipino youth to continue his unfinished mission. Perhaps he would say as President Kennedy had said it: "Ask not what your country can do for you --- ask what you can do for your country." And through the lips of Padre Florentino in his *El Filibusterismo*, Rizal apostrophized:

Where are the youth who will consecrate their golden hours, their illusions, and their enthusiasm to the welfare of their native land? Where are the youth who will generously pour out their blood to wash away so much shame, so much abomination? Pure and spotless must the victim be that the sacrifice may be acceptable! Where are you, youth who will embody in yourselves the vigor of life that has left our veins, the purity of ideas that has been contaminated in our brains, the fire of enthusiasm that has been quenched in our hearts? We await you, O youth! Come, for we await you!" (Rizal 1956, 361)

These are some of the many thoughts of Rizal on Youth --- the Filipino Youth --- "Fair hope of my Fatherland."

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HUMOR IN OUR HISTORY*

Dalmacio Martin

One may view events in history in a comic vein. There are times when comedy is undistinguishable from tragedy in the same way that the tragedy of a Shylock may be a comedy of Shakespeare. The histories of peoples are tears and laughter intermingled. What may be emphasized, on one hand, is the funnier side of human strivings in the history of one country. After all, there is some truth to the saying that the clowning of a comedian can sometimes convey greater truths with his laugh-provoking informalities than the prepared oration of the principal actor.

The article presents a few sketches taken from Philippine history which may give occasion for some humorous reflections. The focus in this is to show comedy as one way of studying and viewing history. Also, the lapse of time can make what was once a serious tragic event to the participants an amusing episode to the contemporary observer.

*Keywords: Humor*Tragedy*Comedy*Irony*Satire*

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During the Age of Discovery

One historic event which could be viewed somewhat humorously today was Columbus' voyage to the New World in 1492. It was really a new world which he found with his companions after seventy days at sea but he did not know it. He thought that he was somewhere close to India. He died a forlorn, disappointed, mistrusted man. They even put him in prison.

The discoveries of Columbus served to reawaken interest in the possibility that the earth might be round and that India might be reached by sailing westward just a little farther on beyond the points reached by Columbus. Ferdinand Magellan was one of those young men who, after the voyages of Columbus, felt that sure that India, China and the Moluccas were somewhere to the West. He was going to prove how little he knew to begin with. He did not have the slightest idea when he started in 1519 what long trans-oceanic excursions he had begged to be allowed to undertake.

Another humorous incident in history had a great relevance to our home islands. Columbus and Magellan did their explorations for the Spanish throne although they were not Spaniards themselves. Portugal was the most serious rival of Spain especially after the Portuguese Prince Henry the Navigator had claimed exclusive rights to the Cape of Good Hope route to the East, and so Spain had to prove that the fabulous Indies, if it could be reached sailing westward, really belonged to Spain. It was the most stupendous real estate drama in all history. It involved the whole globe.

There was Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia) who was willing to oblige by settling the dispute. At least he thought that he was settling something. He was characterized by one historian as a "political pope." His decision, which was accepted by both disputants, was that all undiscovered lands on one side of the globe would belong to Portugal and those on the other side to Spain. Our home archipelago lies on the part that was officially awarded to Portugal but Spain got her special right to it

finally recognized officially in 1529. Portugal was not happy. There and then, a battle commenced between two world real estate claimants. There is humor to think of where these two colossal landowners are today in world affairs, and there is also some humor to think of how easily a world could be divided at that time between two quarreling neighbors as if it were an apple. And the striking aspect of it was that it was a Portuguese (Magellan) who offered to captain the Spanish team. In modern Philippine parlance, that would be called collaboration with the enemy.

The brave explorer wanted to introduce what would probably be an early European-sponsored version of SEATO. He offered to help a friendly king settle the score with a hostile chieftain named Lapulapu. It was planned by Magellan to be an all-Spanish selection of his finest boys, just about fifty of them, pitted against about three thousand native warriors of Mactan. He told his Cebuano protectorates to watch his boys fight but not to bother to help. His soldiers should be able to scare the natives with the first volley. The battle was doomed from the start. That's what makes it seem so funny to us of today --- the horrible miscalculation. Even the picture of Don Quixote fighting the windmills could not have been more amusing. The white man's first *pasikat* in our home islands ended in lamentable tragedy for him.

There is a kind of ironic humor in the history of the whole disaster. An impressive monument was erected in honor of the loser, but for a long time it was nothing but dishonor to the winner. It was only very recently that Lapulapu had a monument built for him by the apologetic Cebuanos and it is really nothing compared to that which was built for Magellan.

These statements are not intended to deprecate the greatness and the immortal fame of the brave explorer, born a Portuguese, but forced to turn pro-Spaniard. History has given Magellan a high place which is far beyond our poor power to add or detract. It is only pointed out here that his dying in Mactan was totally unnecessary. Magellan's deeds have been a great

turning point in the history of Western civilization. It is the circumstances of his death in Mactan and the relative appreciation of the two combatants which have some element of tragic comedy to us of today.

Let us now jump forward to two hundred forty years after Mactan to footnote a similar patriot-traitor mix upon the death of Diego Silang. Miguel Vicos was honored for having shot Diego Silang from behind, and the monument to honor "patriot" Vicos had this inscription: "In honor of Vicos, a Spanish *mestizo*, for having shot and killed the seditious traitor Diego Silang in the year 1763, after having invoked the blessing of the Holy Virgin on his deed." The monument to Vicos stood for one hundred fifty years in the town of Bantay before it was replaced by another monument less offensive to the Filipino sense of historical justice.

"An Everlasting Name Which Shall Never Perish"

We are now stuck with our name as a country: *Philippines*. We cannot now get rid of it even if we wanted to. The name is not without some humorous associations. The name *Philippines*, as we all know, was in perpetual remembrance of King Philip II of Spain, the king who, according to one historian, crushed the spirit of liberty in Spain and suicidally persecuted the hard-working Moors. He lost the "Invincible Spanish Armada" during the sixteenth century but his kingly name got stuck to us for eternity, one might say. As a result of the historic decision, we are now called *Filipinos*. It would not be so bad if the world would suppose that we have been named after San Felipe, but that would be a distortion of historical truth. Historians all over the world keep reminding us that we were *Philip's Isles*, and we were for some time officially *Philippine Islands*, and later *Philippines*. Of course, in the United States and in Europe, and even in nearby Tokyo, we call each other *Pinoys*. This might even be a better name for us although it is not official. We are the only country in the world of such sizeable indigenous population which carries a name derived from a

doubtful historical character. We are stuck with that name forever!

This business of giving names, if one ponders it carefully, is really amazing and amusing. One can laugh or one can cry, depending often on where one stands. A few brown natives on a Pacific Island stole a few things from Magellan's ships and their home islands were called *Ladrones Islands*. But if the white-skinned strangers steal whole islands or continents, the strangers are not called *Ladrones*. One's sense of humor might lead one to say that even today, if one steals little things, he goes to jail. But if one steals big things, he excites admiration and awe.

During the time of Governor General Narciso Claveria, we were given surnames of the imported variety. The ancestors of the writer of this article got *Martin*; those of the governor of Pangasinan, *Estrella*; and those of the President in Malacanang, *Garcia*. There were a few stubborn indigenous groups, however, which kept or adopted instead such surnames as *Soliman*, *Putong*, *Mabanag* and *Magsaysay*. But as a whole, we got imported names, not like the Americans who preferred to retain such names as *White*, *Green*, *Blue*, *Black*; or *Strong*, *Long*, *Sweet*; or *Wood*, *Stone*, *Waters* and the like. Other nationalities in the world would only have names of foreign origin if their ancestors had come from other lands. But we of this archipelago, without stepping out of the country, got foreign names, and there was not much we could do about them.

The three most common foreign surnames given to us --- and this can be checked with the Manila telephone directory --- were *Reyes*, *Santos* and *Cruz*. So many of our ancestors were surnamed *Reyes*, meaning kings, when they were little better than slaves at the time of Claveria. That is a stroke of sardonic humor. *Santos* means saints. We are still prayerfully waiting, after more than one hundred years, for the first saint from our race. *Cruz* was the only authentic imported name for us, for our ancestors did carry the cross on their shoulders and many of us are still carrying it now.

“My Blood Thou Shalt Take”

Our sixteenth century ancestors had compacted in blood with the men of Magellan in Cebu and the men of Legazpi in Bohol. The blood compacts were supposed to seal the friendship between our people and the Spaniards. That, ironically, started a long period of bloody struggles, starting with Magellan's death on the beaches of Mactan and including the long period of Dagohoy's revolt in Bohol. There is humor in the unexpected parallelism of Cebu and Bohol. Before theoretical friendship with Spain ended in 1898, we were to see the bloody revolts of Sumuroy, Malong, Diego Silang and Apolinario de la Cruz and the Revolution initiated by Andres Bonifacio. The Katipuneros of Bonifacio had their own counter-blood compacts when the time came. We were told that there were revolts in our islands during the entire Spanish regime at the rate of about one every two years. The moral of it is: “Do not trust too much in blood compacts. Ceremonies do not fool our people.” The *Blood Compact* today is nothing but a good Juan Luna painting.

More Trouble than Treasure”

Let us go back a little in this humoristic review of our history. The Spaniards came into possession of our land without an undisputed title to it. It was geographically Portuguese land, according to the demarcation line of 1493. This may come to one's mind whenever one recalls the difficult and troubled time which Spain experienced here in dealing with our ancestors and their ancestors' ancestors. The Spaniards really had little peace in these islands during their rule of over three hundred years, not necessarily because of the intransigency of our ancestors, but because of rivalries among the rulers themselves. There were many recorded cases of conflicts between *encomenderos* and missionaries, between civil officials and church officials, and among different religious orders. These conflicts, all of them involving Spaniards, must have furnished no little amusement to the indigenous population of our archipelago even if at that time they did not have so many newspaper columnists as we do today.

Soon after the colonization period began, the tribute-collecting *encomenderos* began to trample on the missionary conscience of the religious, and the latter's complaints to the kings of Spain were loud and continuous. One archbishop wrote to the king, complaining of the venality of the civil administrators and this is what he said:

The officials are only moved by their own interests and seek to enrich themselves, and if it happened that the welfare of the native was an obstacle to this, they would not hesitate, if they could, to kill them all in exchange for their own temporal profit. From this inordinate greed, arises the violation of Your Majesty's decrees and mandates. (Blair and Robertson 1906, 145)

For this opposition to civil authorities, not a few church officials aroused the hatred of the governors-general, and some of the former were actually imprisoned by the latter. After imprisonment, the church hierarchy would usually retaliate with excommunication and other forms of debasing punishments. According to historians, Governor General Corcuera was imprisoned for five years at the instance of Archbishop Guerrero. Ex-Governor General Salcedo was also imprisoned and sent to Mexico for trial at the instance of Archbishop Poblete. Upon his exoneration, Salcedo sailed back to Manila, but he died on the way.

To see former Governor General Vargas dressed in penitent's garb and walking daily in the churchyard in his bare feet and with a rope around his neck for three months must have been a sight indeed to our awestruck ancestors, but we of today cannot fail to see the humor in that incredible drama instigated by Archbishop Pardo. (Blair and Robertson 1906, 810)

Governor General Bustamante and his son were slain in 1719 for challenging the churchmen under the influence of Archbishop de la Cuesta. That was of course the climax in bloodiness and tragedy.

There were also many instances when churchmen were the ones who were accused before the king for abuses, corruption and government interferences. A French officer visiting Manila in the late eighteenth century wrote his observations of the way our forefathers were made to suffer at the hands of church authorities:

For the most trivial offences infants, children, men, women, old and young without distinction of rank, age, or sex, are subjected to the discipline of the whip; and the ascendancy acquired by the clergy over the minds of the people in their respective parishes is such that the Indian having received his stripes with the most humble submission thanks the priest for his good offices.

Being whipped in public and being thankful for it afterwards must have made our people sink to the lowest ebb of racial pride, or given them an incredible sense of humor which enabled them to stand up later in 1896.

In brief, we can say with humor and charity that the Spaniards did not have a very pleasant time of it staying in our archipelago which was to have been Portuguese-owned in the first place. We fought them and they fought us, but they also fought among themselves.

“By the Mouth of the Prophets”

In our country, the Spanish administrators did not want to be told the truth about the state of affairs. They would banish, imprison, or kill if anyone dared touch sensitive spots. They executed two of the finest native prophets, Burgos and Rizal. One would think this was a tragedy, and there was no humor in the history surrounding these two young men. But some humor can be seen in it today because the lapse of time has given us a certain detachment and wisdom to laugh at the mistakes and the folly of the earlier protagonists. For one thing, Burgos displayed an uncanny insight and a wonderful gift of prophecy when he

wrote about our country 100 years ago in his *Presagios y Vaticinios*. This is what he said then:

The time will come when you will forget your customs and traditions and advocate foreign cultures. You will be called great imitators. We will have a very expensive political set-up which will be controlled by a chosen few whose watchword will be self-advancement. We shall fall prey to occidental luxuries. We will have palatial homes, expensive cars (*coches lujosísimos*) and fashion and dress way above the reach of the masses who will, in turn, lead miserable lives; and even if at this point our agricultural and mineral products will find foreign markets all this will not be enough to compensate for our injury. (Feria 1958, 8)

Burgos must have laughed some when he wrote *La Loba Negra*, the sad story of the vengeful wife and daughter of the late murdered Governor General Bustamante, just as Rizal must have painted his Sisa and his Doña Victorina with the same brushes dipped in tears and laughter. While we are on the subject of Father Burgos, we might as well consider first one minor but somewhat humorous incident of the Mutiny of 1872. The confederates in Manila were to signal the exact hour of armed uprising by means of rockets. But, unfortunately, there was a fiesta in Sampaloc and the rockets of the fiesta were mistaken by the leaders of the Cavite Mutiny as the arrival of the zero hour. Of course, the mutiny failed and in the ensuing round up, the three priests, Gomez, Burgos and Zamora, were falsely implicated.

Another unusual turn of history in connection with this mutiny in Cavite was when Francisco Saldua who was bribed to testify falsely against the three priests was himself condemned on the *garrote*. That kind of retributive justice has some humor in it if we of today should look at that episode as a tragedy of errors.

Let us now turn to the work of another great prophet. In comic memory of all present-day Doña Victorinas, let us quote a few lines from Rizal's "The Philippines a Century Hence":

They gradually lost their ancient traditions, their recollections. They forgot their writings, their songs, their poetry, their law in order to learn by heart other doctrines which they did not understand; other ethics, other tastes, different from those inspired in their race by their climate and their way of thinking. Then there was a falling off; they were lowered in their own eyes, they became ashamed of what was distinctly their own in order to admire and praise what was foreign and incomprehensible; their spirit was broken and they acquiesced.

The closeness between tears and laughter has been pointed out to us by Rizal in his article entitled "Llanto y Risas." A chapter in his *El Filibusterismo* has been correctly titled "Smiles and Tears." There is humor in satire, and Rizal was as great a satirist as any that walked the earth.

The *Noli Me Tangere* and the *El Filibusterismo* are great books but there is humor in a situation that uses the force of Republic Act 1425 to make students read these immortal works.

"Conquerors of Modern Times" --- the Americans

Let us now turn to more recent events in which the Americans have played a part. Take the Battle of Manila Bay between the American and the Spanish fleets. One is struck by the one-sidedness of that conflict. If it was a "fixed" contest, one can also laugh at the impotence of the Spanish naval command. It was the first grand slam in history --- not one American warship damaged, not one American soldier killed, and yet all the Spanish warships were destroyed.

The Spaniards were having trouble with the Cubans and the Filipinos. They were having a terrible time of it on two hemispheres. It is true that the Americans were bullying them

around in Cuba, but it is somewhat amusing to think of how, under such conditions of helplessness, the Spaniards could have had the shortsightedness to blow up the warship "Maine" in Havana harbor. That started for them a real shooting war on two fronts. They did not have a chance.

When Dewey's guns were menacingly pointed at Manila in 1898, and when the Spaniards saw how utterly hopeless the situation was, they requested that they be permitted to make a small token of resistance to safeguard national honor, after which they would probably raise the white flag of surrender. Even in war, one can say, there is such a thing as "pakitang tao lamang."

And after the war was over, when Taft was proclaiming "The Philippines for the Filipinos," Senator Beveridge was thundering with his rhetoric thus: "The Philippines are ours forever ... God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No!"

Our habit of overvaluing the foreign --- the deep scar of history's wound in our souls --- could become a source of humorous observations. One example can be cited here. We are supposed to have a national language. We started teaching it in schools in 1936 or more than twenty years ago. But from Dagupan to Plaza Goiti in Manila, one could hardly find a single street sign or billboard in the national language. If an American from a moon rocket should drop down and upon landing find no people around, he might suppose that Central Luzon is part of Oklahoma. He might see one of the big billboards of "Ang Tibay," but if he looks closely enough he would find the slogan, "The Wear That Lasts." He might also find "Putong Pulo" nearer to Manila but at the bottom of the sign he will read: "Take home a bag; good for health." Yes, our vacillating half-hearted attempts at national language propagation and development could be a source of amusement and the history of our country is rich in instances which seem to show that we don't make our actions square with our promises. We could have a real national

language tomorrow if we wanted to, but we don't really want it. There is humor in that situation.

When the Spanish colonial authorities refused to teach Spanish to the Filipino youth of Rizal's time, what did Rizal say? These were Rizal's words to Basilio: "If they were unwilling to teach you their language, cultivate your own, extend it, preserve to the people their own way of thinking and instead of aspiring to be a province, aspire to be a nation!" Now, because of the recent Spanish language law, we are having an overdose of that which Rizal had said we do not need to crave for.

When we were ready to be seriously considered for independence by the Americans during the Great Depression (thanks to our oil, cordage and other saleable exports), they decided --- they, not ourselves --- that we should be ceremoniously proclaimed independent on July 4. So, on July 4, 1946 we got our independence. Our imitative proclivities for things foreign were not to end with that independence; we had to copy the American "Glorious Fourth." Even in the matter of our independence, we were not free to choose when to be independent. It is said that a Philippine delegation at a SEATO Conference in Thailand, in celebrating our Independence Day on July 4, was misunderstood by our Asian neighbors who were not so familiar with our political history as celebrating the American Independence Day. What is humorous in this situation is the fact that forever and ever we would also be celebrating for a foreign country when it is our solemn purpose to celebrate for our own country. There is humor in such an un-independence!

Concluding Remarks

Humor is a great health restorer and preserver so let not the humorous episodes of our history be forgotten. It was Lincoln who once said that if he did not laugh, he would die.

Ignorance can be amusing so we laugh at the blind trans-oceanic gropings of Columbus and Magellan while we admire their courage. Indiscretion and *pasikat* can also be amusing, so

the Spanish tragedy at Mactan was a comedy for Lapulapu. Pope Alexander's demarcation line was the forerunner of the present summit talks which often end in futility.

The comic quarrels between contending political parties today remind us of the quarrels between Spanish governors and archbishops in the past. Spain's deafness during her time was incredible and amusing but "he who laughs best who laughs last," and Burgos and Rizal are among those whose "laughter" we can still hear today,

Our fondness for the foreign and the imported started in Cebu in 1521 and as a result, we have become the wonder child of Asia. Not a few of our neighbors marvel at us, but most of them seem to snicker at our unseemly pretensions.

We believe we are America's favorite but when we count the "aguinaldo," we have the least. One "aguinaldo" they have give to us, like the albatross of the Ancient Mariner, is our "Glorious Fourth," the celebration in Manila duplicating the celebration in Washington D.C.

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RAFAEL PALMA AS SCHOLAR AND HISTORIAN*

Gregorio F. Zaide

One of the few good and great Filipinos was Rafael Palma. Endowed with an exemplary character, he was a fearless newspaperman, an honest public official, a productive legislator, a learned barrister, a gifted writer, and a magnificent educator.

But it was as a scholar and historian that Palma attained the zenith of his greatness. He was born with the proper qualifications for a scholarly career, such as superior intelligence, literary ability, prodigious patience for investigation and research, judicious judgment, independent mind, and passionate love for truth. The article traces this “many-splendored” facet in the life of Rafael Palma starting from the time that he discovered his talent for writing.

KEYWORDS: *Rafael Palma* La Independencia*El Renacimiento*Biografia de Rizal*Historia de Filipinas* The Woman and the Right to Vote* Our Campaign for Independence**

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Rafael Palma first discovered his talent for writing in 1893 when he was a law student at the University of Santo Tomas. That year, upon the request of his friends Epifanio de los Santos, Fernando Ma. Guerrero, and Jose Zulueta, he participated in a literary contest sponsored by the Ateneo de Manila, his alma mater. To his surprise and joy, his entry entitled "The Spanish Literature in the Golden Age" won a prize which consisted of a two-volume book, *The Great Arcanes of the Universe* written by Padre Pesch.

After the closure of the University of Santo Tomas, owing to Dewey's victory in Manila Bay (May 1, 1898), Palma secretly left Manila and joined the libertarian struggle against Spain. He became a member of the editorial staff of General Antonio Luna's *La Independencia* whose first issue came out on September 3, 1898. "My articles at the very beginning," he said recalling his experiences as a revolutionary journalist, "were mostly short stories and articles on social education to bring into the public consciousness the principles of the new regime."

After General Luna's death in June 1898, Palma became editor of *La Independencia*. But this did not last long because of the collapse of the First Philippine Republic. After the demise of the newspaper, Palma returned to Manila.

On September 3, 1901 he founded the patriotic newspaper *El Renacimiento* of which he was the first editor. He wrote vigorous editorials against a rival newspaper, *La Democracia*, the organ of the pro-American Federal Party of Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera. After his marriage with Carolina Ocampo on February 1, 1902, he resigned as editor to practice law and support his new family.

In December 1902, because of his great admiration for Dr. Rizal who had sacrificed his life for Filipino freedom, Palma took part in a literary contest on the role of Rizal in Philippine history, sponsored by the International Club of Manila. He easily won the contest, receiving the cash prize of P200 for his entry.

His victory gave him considerable prestige as a Rizalist in Manila's literary circles.

In succeeding years, despite his busy activities, first as a practicing lawyer and later as a politician and government official, he continued his research studies on Philippine history and culture. Evidently, he found greater joy and fascination in historico-literary pursuits than in his hectic law practice and in turbulent politics.

In 1921, in his stirring article, "The Struggle of Our Days," he urged the emancipation of our poverty-ridden masses from their economic bondage:

We should preach a new gospel to the masses who accept with resignation their poverty and privations. These masses have lived and are still living the simple and patriarchal life of primitive society, with but a few necessities and limited aspirations. They have not felt the urge of riches; neither do they ever strive to enjoy the material comforts of life. Their work has been commensurate with their needs and their peculiar mode of life reacts on the general conditions of the country. Ours is the duty to stir them up and to teach them that it is the height of folly to live merely to satisfy the primary instincts and that it is necessary to work continuously to improve one's lot and condition, having in mind not only his individual demands but also those of the nation.

As the years rolled by, his brilliant mind and pen produced more historico-literary works. Among them were the following: *Our Campaign for Independence* (1921); *Our Country* (1926); *The Woman and the Right to Vote* (1927); *The Revolt of Youth* (1928); *Our Age* (1929); *The New Mentality* (1929); *Our History* (1929); *The University and the People* (1931); *Historia de Filipinas* (1935); *Biografia de Rizal* (1938). It is interesting to note that in August 1939, three months after Palma's death, *The Philippine Social Science Review* (faculty organ of the University of the Philippines) issued a commemorative Rafael Palma Number (Vol. XI, No. 3)

containing his brief biographical sketch and eight of his widely read articles.

In *Our Campaign for Independence*, Palma discussed the historical background of the Philippine independence movement, the role played by Quezon, Osmeña, and Harrison in it, and the sending of the First Philippine Independence Mission to Washington D.C. in 1919, of which he was one of the members. "The campaign for independence," he recounted with authority:

"...has been persistent and determined, in the face of many discouragements and adversities and in spite of the staunch opposition of those who would have the Islands retained indefinitely. The perseverance and the zeal with which the campaign was carried on shows how deeply rooted in the minds of the Filipino people is the desire to lead an independent life. In the political history of the years of American tutelage, this campaign for freedom will rightly occupy a prominent place and the ability displayed in the direction of the campaign as well as the good fortune and patriotism of those to whom was entrusted the principal part in making it ... will stand out in bold relief."

Amazingly, Palma, of somber mien and serious mind, waxed poetic and romantic in *Our Country*, a historico-geographical treatise. "Our country," he rhapsodized with sentimental pride, "is one of the most beautiful and poetic in the world. Her geographical composition is unique. There is no other nation that can boast of such a large variegated group of islands....Our country's scenic panoramas consisting of vast plains, canopied by the blue heavens and studded with verdant hills, are wonderful to behold and have nothing to envy in the most famous vistas in the world."

Like the swing of the pendulum, he returned to his usual mood of philosophical thinking in *Our History* where he pontificated on the value of studying history for it nourishes and

intensifies "one's love of country." With the dictum of Andre Maurois, he asseverated:

"From childhood we should study the history of our country for it places within our reach the development of human events that have occurred in our own soil or in which men of our own race were the doers of deeds. Through our history we find the spiritual bond that links us with our forefathers; we witness their struggles and triumphs and defeats; we visualize their thoughts and deeds; and, through their actions, we recognize our own individuality as a nation, separate and distinct and individual in the Universe.

Moreover, he added:

As such, history has always been looked upon as life's great teacher because it faithfully narrates the long and varied experiences of nations, points out their errors and blunders, analyzes the underlying causes of their rise and fall. But history does more than this. It does not only record the past and the potentialities of a race, but it is a guide to, and warning of, the future. It serves to teach a people what to do in each stage of its development in the light of its past experiences. So when a country is confronted with grave problems, it must inquire into the proper solution from the pages of history.

According to Palma, the study of Philippine history gives us the following conclusions:

First, our people have demonstrated that they possess physical endurance and strength that remain unimpaired by violence and dire misfortune.

Second, that it has not been through isolation but through contact, not through repulsion but through assimilation of new elements of culture, that the Filipino was able to fit himself into every new scheme of things and to withstand the innumerable

reverses and mishaps in the history of his country, acquiring with each passing day new experiences and profiting by the examples of others.

Third, that our intellectual and cultural progress was made possible during the Spanish regime only because of a certain degree of economic development for at that time only the rich could send their children to schools and colleges in Manila and in Europe. With the increase in the number of educated people came the general desire to introduce political changes to ameliorate conditions and assure the welfare of the people.

Fourth, that the economic development of our country received decided impetus with the opening of our ports to foreign commerce and with the help of capital that came from foreign commercial houses in the Islands at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Fifth, that, thanks to the existence of foreign capital and the exportation of agricultural products of our country to foreign markets, Filipinos have steadily increased their production, thus enabling them ... to share in the commercial activities of the world.

Like Mabini, Palma was among the pioneer advocates of women suffrage in our country. In his Rizal Day Address at the Manila Opera House on December 30, 1913, he boldly expressed his support to the woman suffrage movement which was then beginning to percolate in our country. He said:

According to the old idea, woman's sphere of action should not extend beyond the home, beyond her domestic occupations, and she should be nothing but the glory and delight of her husband and her children. This is not right. Like man, woman is born and lives in society, and she cannot and must not remain indifferent to social distress and suffering. To think otherwise would be selfishness and aberration and would leave society a prey to much suffering which only the hand of woman can cure or relieve. Let woman be the glory and happiness of the home; but

do not forget that she must extend her beneficent action beyond the confines of the household, that she must make the world outside the participant of the wealth of kindness and charity that bountiful Providence has lavished upon her. Just as she shares the duties of life with man within the home, so should she, in public life, share with man the responsibility of remedying and alleviating public distress and misfortune.

Possessed of a keen sense of history, Palma felt that the woman suffrage movement in the Philippines will eventually triumph for it has already succeeded in other countries of the world. As a perceptive historian, he knew that New Zealand granted suffrage to women as early as 1893, being the first country in the world to do so. As time passed by, other foreign countries allowed women to vote, such as, Norway (1913), Denmark and Sweden (1914), Great Britain and Holland (1918), and the United States (1920). In 1927, as our women suffragettes were intensifying their demand for the right to vote, Palma, in his *The Woman and the Right to Vote* ardently advocated the granting of woman suffrage in the name of justice and democracy. "Woman suffrage," he said, "spells justice and vindication for the modern woman and we must adopt it forthwith, without unnecessary delay and formalities We have to move quickly and anticipate the aspirations of the feminine masses ... in order to save us the agitation which otherwise is sure to come and the justice of which will have to be recognized.

Although Palma, by age, education, and experience belonged to the old and vanishing generation, he was at heart evermore young. Unlike most people in the approaching twilight of life, he enjoyed the company of young men and women. He sympathized with their problems, encouraged their beautiful dreams, and gave them fatherly advice in time of trouble. No wonder, he was beloved by the rising generations, particularly university students and young intellectuals.

Palma was an outspoken champion of the Filipino youth, for he fervently believed with Rizal that young Filipinos are "the hope of the fatherland." He accepted the new changes brought about by the changing times and inspired the youth to demand reforms in society and government because the future belongs to them. In *The Revolt of the Youth*, he said:

We have to forge ahead and should not be afraid of the changes that we witness. To me it is a good augury that we change, that our youth do not submit themselves to the restrictions and hindrances which the past has bequeathed to us and which we in turn pretend to leave to our progeny as a legacy, that they endeavor to bring originality into their thoughts and feelings and acquire new experiences which have been denied us. After all, the youth of today will be the citizens of tomorrow and they have the right to remodel the things which they find out of place or out of step with the times.

Two of the masterly historical products of Palma's pen are *Biografia de Rizal* and *Historia de Filipinas*, incidentally his last writings. The first, written under the nom-de-plume "Lakan-Dula," was awarded first prize (P3, 000) in the nationwide contest on the biography of Dr. Jose Rizal conducted by the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1938. The second prize (P1, 000) was given to Camilo Osias ("Tamaraw") and the two third prizes were obtained by Asuncion Lopez Bantug ("Apo-ni-Dimas") and Carlos Quirino ("Talo-Saling"). In a written report submitted to President Manuel L. Quezon, Board of Judges Chairman Justice Manuel C. Briones said: "In the work of 'Lakan-Dula' are certain superiorities and excellencies which are not found in the manuscripts of the other contestants and neither in the biographies of Rizal published to the present time."

The *Historia de Filipinas*, which Palma wrote and finished in 1935, is a fine contribution to Philippine historiography. It is a concise, faithful, and unbiased history of our nation from the misty ages of our little-known prehistory to the eve of the emergence of the Commonwealth of the

Philippines. Written in sonorous Spanish, it portrays vividly the political and economic development of our people since pre-Magellanic times and the flowering of our civilization out of the harmonious blending of the Asian, Hispanic, Mexican, and American cultural influences.

According to Carlos P. Romulo who penned its preface, "the work of Palma does not discover, as it is impossible to discover, all the events because the life of man is too brief for the magnitude of the work; but it sets an example to future historians so that they may not repeat automatically what others have done in not discerning the difference between truth and fiction."

It is high time that we, lovers of history and admirers of Palma, try our best to salvage his historical masterpiece from oblivion by spearheading a movement to have it translated into English and Pilipino and have it published in moderate-priced editions so that our reading public, especially the millions of young students, may read it. This is, in my sincere and humble opinion, the best way to pay homage to the memory of Palma. It is by reading his *Historia*, as well as his other great writings, that we can love more our beloved fatherland and appreciate more its author who was truly a many-splendored scholar and historian.

SIMEON A. OLA (1865-1952)*

Celedonio A. Ancheta

Simeon Arboleda Ola, the last Filipino general who surrendered on September 25, 1903 to the Americans during the Filipino-American War, is often the subject of controversy in many seminars whether on the point of his being a *general* or on the point of his being the *last general* to surrender. However, one thing stands out that Ola risked his life for the national cause during the Revolution like many other Filipino patriots.

The article challenges readers not to be indifferent and just dismiss the case of Ola without seriously looking into it inasmuch as "the only behavior befitting to a scholar is scholarly behavior which means the consistent application of reasons and the creative intellectual imagination to one's field of competence." Hence, the article presents the life of Simeon Ola with the aim of investigating the past to understand fully the truth of the struggle for freedom in order to guide Filipinos in their search for national identity.

KEYWORDS: *Simeon Ola*Albay (Guinobatan, Ligao, Oas)*Vito Belarmino*Philippine Constabulary*Harry Bandholtz*Philippine Scouts*Sedition Law*

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Simeon Ola was born on September 2, 1865 in Guinobatan, Albay. His parents were Vicente Ola and Apolonia Arboleda. They belong to a middle class Filipino family. Simeon Ola's first wife gave him no child. He had two boys, Fausto and Tomas, and two girls, Vicenta and Maximina, with his second wife, Trinidad Ostria.

Young Simeon Ola left his studies at the Colegio de Nueva Caceres at Naga, Camarines Sur when the Philippine Revolution broke out in 1896. He joined the *Katipunan* secret society at his home town which was organized by Jose Glicerio Delgado, the emissary of Andres Bonifacio to the Bicol region.

One night, one Pepito Sarte from Ligao, Albay arrived in Guinobatan with two boxes of Remington rifles, twenty-four guns in all with ammunition. As *Teniente de Cuadrillos* in Guinobatan, trusted and confidant of the parish priest, Fr. Carlos Cabido, no one ever suspected that Simeon Ola was a member of the *Katipunan* society. Ola hid these guns up in the ceiling of the house of Don Tomas Gallegos located just in front of the Catholic Church of Guinobatan.

The first move of Ola was to recruit men in order to free about 93 of his town mates who were arrested and imprisoned by the Spaniards for revolutionary activities. He was able to free them through the connivance of Sgt. Antonio Loamo, the key keeper of the jail. They fled, about 300 of them, to the mountains of Albay and defiantly fought the Spaniards in any opportune time. Ola assumed leadership of his fellow Katipuneros in the Bicol region.

Ola was appointed as Captain of the Revolutionary Forces by General Vito Belarmino, the over-all commander in the Bicol region, for his fearless leadership and gallantry in action when he captured seventy-two *Casadores Espanoles* with their arms in the Battle of Camalig, Albay in April 1898.

Another achievement of Ola was the delivery without mishap of the amount of P42, 000 --- all in silver coins in forty-

two empty petroleum boxes to General Mariano Trias, Secretary of Finance of the First Aguinaldo Cabinet, somewhere in Cavite as war contributions collected from the rich merchants of Albay. For two months and eight days, back and forth, Ola and his men traveled through rugged mountains and trails with all the risk of being captured by the enemy. He had successfully accomplished his mission. If Ola is a bandit or a dishonest man, he could have easily disappeared with the money without the fear of being discovered.

On January 23, 1900 he had an encounter against the American troops that landed at Legazpi, Albay. The Americans suffered heavy losses. Ola was wounded on the thigh. In this fight, he captured three American soldiers with their arms, by the name of Dubose, Fred Hunter, and Russell. After this encounter, General Belarmino promoted him to the rank of major.

In February 1900, at barrio Arimbay, Legazpi, Ola lost Jose Arboleda, his Bolo Battalion Commander, because the latter failed to follow the order not to pursue the retreating Americans. Ola suspected that the fleeing Americans were leading his men to a deep muddy pit. Sure enough, Arboleda was trapped in the mud. He could not get out of it before the Americans shot him to death.

One important engagement that Ola and his men participated in was the defense of his home town, Guinobatan, against the Americans entering the town from Naga, Camarines Sur. Ola together with Colonel Engracio Orence at barrio Binogsacan, Guinobatan fought furiously the enemy who outnumbered them. In spite of overwhelming odds, they were able to prevent the Americans from occupying the town. While Ola and his men were fighting the Americans in Binogsacan, General Pawa and his men were burning the Colegio de San Buenaventura Seminary in Guinobatan proper and the big house of the town mayor, Don Cirilo Jaucian, which was used as headquarters by the Americans.

On July 4, 1901 General Belarmino (U.S. War Department 1902, 342) surrendered to the Americans after the capture of General Emilio Aguinaldo at Palanan, Isabela on March 23, 1901. It was reported to the Adjutant of the Philippine Constabulary in Manila on July 3, 1901 by First Lieutenant E.R. Heggins, District Adjutant, that Simeon Ola, native of Guinobatan, Albay, "ex-major of insurgents, surrendered at Legazpi on July 4, 1901 and returned to the hills as chief of the bandits soon after." (Smith 1963) In the *Annual Report of the War Department*, "Comandante Simeon Ola, Nicolas Espada, and Juan Salasar, with 12 officers and 37 men, 33 rifles, 3 revolvers, and 1,000 rounds of ammunitions, surrendered on July 5, 1901." There is a discrepancy on the correct date. Most probably, the correct date of the so-called surrender is on July 5 because according to the personal diary of Ola entitled *Gotos na Estoria ni Simeon Ola*, that when General Belarmino received the first letter of General Trias which ordered them to surrender with his men, Ola refused. A second letter was received, again urging them to surrender, Ola said, "What can I do, I have to obey my superior. But it was not surrender." According to him, he just accompanied General Belarmino to Manila so as to see General Aguinaldo.

They stayed in a house somewhere in Sta. Ana for about a month. While in Manila, all the generals and officers of General Aguinaldo among them General Miguel Malvar had conferences. In one of these conferences, Ola informed General Aguinaldo that when he returns to Bicol, he will go back to the hills and carry on the fight against the Americans. Being with General Belarmino when he surrendered did not mean that he had also surrendered. He said that he accompanied General Belarmino because he was already sickly and almost blind.

When Ola returned to Albay on August 1, 1901, he was advised by some of his men not to proceed to Guinobatan because many of his men were already arrested and executed. His father, Vicente Ola, was executed by spies employed by the Americans for refusing to divulge the whereabouts of his son. The execution of his father consequently spurred Ola's

determination to continue the struggle against the imposition of American rule in the Philippines.

When General Belarmino became almost blind and sick, he ordered Ola to assume his post as commanding general of the revolutionary forces in the Bicol region. General Malvar, who assumed the leadership of the Revolution after the capture of General Aguinaldo, confirmed the rank of Ola as Brigadier General and over-all commander of Bicolandia.

So from here on, General Ola reorganized his forces. More recruits flocked to his headquarters in the mountains numbering more or less about 1,500 men.

On August 11, 1902 at about 7:30 p.m. General Ola and his forces entered the town of Oas, Albay and raided the municipal hall and, without resistance, the municipal police was disarmed, securing 4 shot guns, 3 revolvers, and a quantity of ammunitions.

On August 21, 1902 a detachment of 11 Constabulary soldiers on patrol in the vicinity of Barrio Macabugos, Libon, Albay were attacked at about 2 o'clock a.m. by the men of General Ola numbering about 50. The revolutionists captured 6 Constabulary soldiers with their arms and ammunitions including one American officer. Two of the soldiers were wounded. They were finally released and joined Ola's forces.

On October 1, 1902 one Pedro Arambulo, emissary of Don Ramon Santos, the *presidente*, went to General Ola's camp at Barrio Tomacobtacob, Ligao, Albay and informed him of the desire of Santos for a conference with him to negotiate the terms of his surrender. General Ola told the emissary that he interposed no objection receiving Don Ramon Santos. On the third day of the same month, Ramon Santos together with Major Jesse S. Garwood and Lieutenant Neri arrived in Ola's camp. They offered Ola P10, 000 cash which they brought with them and told him that the money was war contributions from the rich merchants of Albay in exchange for his surrender with his men

and their arms. General Ola became angry and boldly answered them saying: "UNA SOLA BALA DE MIS FUCILES NO SE PUEDE COMPRAR POR TODO EL ORO DEL MUNDO (One single bullet of my guns cannot be bought by all the gold in the world). So, the three returned to the town without Ola. After so many promises and conferences extending over a period of forty days during which hostilities were suspended, Ola broke off negotiations and withdrew to the hills with his entire force and a large number of additional recruits that he had secured during the armistice.

In November 1902 General Ola sent a message to Major Garwood who was commander of the thirteen provinces in Southern Luzon that he would like to discuss terms of surrender if he (Garwood) would come to his mountain stronghold alone. It was a dangerous insolent invitation but Garwood, in the spirit of the Constabulary tradition, that "always allow opponent the first shot, then you have proved that he is an outlaw," did not hesitate. He was met by guides at a designated spot. The intrepid officer was led blindfolded over many miles of rough trails, finally to find himself in the presence of General Ola amidst hundreds of armed men.

Ola, as his captured records show, had no intention of surrendering and probably "had issued the invitation more of as a challenge --- a gesture of defiance" rather than as a desire to surrender. But Major Garwood was utterly unpredictable and as many other American officers have done in the line of duty, he risked his life with casualness. Garwood had a pleasant conference with Ola while both were eating stewed grasshoppers around a camp fire with the great delight of the soldiers in the camp. After the conference, Garwood picked up his cartridge belt and revolver which he had discarded, as usual, to show confidence and, mounting his horse, was led back to his waiting men. In admiration for the boldness of the Constabulary chief --- for the Filipino soldier admires that quality in others --- Ola allowed him to return to his headquarters unharmed. (Elarth 1949, 27-31)

General Ola had used Garwood's visit as propaganda to increase his forces and prestige among his men. This conference was hailed far and wide as recognition of General Ola as an equal of the Americans. As a result, more recruits flocked to Ola's camp and joined the Revolution.

General Ola resumed his resistance against the Americans. On July 15, 1903 the first really important and decisive battle took place in the town of Jovellar which was garrisoned by the 31st Company of the Philippine Scouts. On this day, there was a detachment of only 25 Scout soldiers in the town under the charge of Sgt. Nicolas Napolis when they were attacked by nearly all of Ola's forces, including 60 riflemen and about 250 bolomen. The revolutionists made a fierce and determined attack upon the Scouts' barracks but were met by a most obstinate and gallant defense. General Ola's forces suffered 20 killed in action and 30 wounded.

It was Colonel Harry Hills Bandholtz who finally forced the surrender of General Ola. But this was not until he had employed 12 companies of Scout soldiers and an equal number of Constabulary soldiers. Fighting resumed for non-compliance by the Philippine Commission of their promises of amnesty. The minor skirmishes against General Ola were innumerable and they occupied a period of many months.

On September 25, 1903 Eligio Arboleda, Ramon Santos, Epifanio Orozco, Lts. Frank L. Pyle, John Paegelow, J.B. Allison, Joseph Rogers, and Teotimo Guevarra as escort, went to Sitio Malagnatong, Mapaco, Guinobatan, Albay to secure the surrender of General Ola. They were sent by Colonel Bandholtz, the Assistant Chief of the Philippine Constabulary. So at half past 3 o'clock p.m. on the same day, they all came down from the hills to the town plaza where Colonel Bandholtz and Governor Betta were waiting at the municipal building for General Ola's formal surrender.

It is pertinent to quote a part of the report of Colonel Bandholtz regarding the surrender:

In the later part of September, Simeon Ola, with my knowledge and consent, entered into communication with the *presidente* of Guinobatan and desired a conference. I permitted the *presidente* of Guinobatan, Don Ramon Santos, and Lieutenants Paegelow and Pyle to go to Ola's camp, giving them instructions that no armistice would be allowed and that nothing but unconditional surrender would be received, authorizing them to add, however, that none of the outlaws would be shot or hung on the plaza of the town immediately on arrival, but that they would be treated as prisoners until the court had decided as to their fate. As a result of this conference, Ola accompanied the above-mentioned gentlemen into Guinobatan with all of the men and guns then with him. He turned over that date 33 firearms which was the first large surrender that had been accomplished. In the beginning, he wished an armistice of ten days to get his men together but I had previously instructed my officers that nothing of the kind would be allowed, but that he should surrender with all the soldiers present with him and that he would be allowed to bring the others subsequently.... I wish to add that from the day Ola surrendered, he acted in the most honorable way on all occasions and worked sincerely and effectively in inducing and enforcing the surrender of the other outlaws. (Philippine Commission 1903, 92)

Due to lack of food for his men and his failing health, Ola finally gave way for the diligent pleadings of relatives and of his first cousin, Eligio Arboleda, to surrender. Before signing the oath of allegiance to the United States, General Ola said: "I surrender to bring peace to the minds of my townmates."

In the report of the Chief of the Constabulary, General Henry T. Allen, to the Civil Governor of the Philippines, on December 23, 1903, he reported that in the later part of September 1903 Ola surrendered himself and 33 firearms to Lieutenants Paegelow and Pyle.

General Ola was tried in the Court of First Instance of Albay under the Sedition Law presided by Judge Adam C. Carson on November 10, 1903. He was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment but upon the proclamation of amnesty to all political prisoners by the United States, he and his men were finally released on October 8, 1904.

General Ola was elected municipal president of his hometown of Guinobatan for two terms, the first in 1910 to 1913, the second in 1916 to 1919. He died on February 14, 1952 at the age of 86 years, 5 months and 12 days to be exact.

In due recognition of General Ola's patriotic service during the Philippine Revolution and the Filipino-American War, the Philippine Veterans Administration, through a duly approved Resolution No. 72 adopted on March 30, 1965, confirmed Ola's rank as Brigadier General.

To honor its distinguished son, the Municipal Council of Guinobatan approved Resolution No. 51 s. 1965, and duly endorsed by the Provincial Board of Albay, Resolution No. 163 s. 1965, which is the basis for Presidential Proclamation No. 439 declaring Thursday September 2, 1965 as a Special Public Holiday in Guinobatan, Albay as Gen. Simeon A. Ola Birth Centenary Year.

On September 24, 1965 President Diosdado Macapagal of the Republic of the Philippines signed Proclamation No. 456 declaring Saturday September 25, 1965 as a Special Public Holiday in the Province of Albay to mark the 62nd anniversary of the surrender of General Simeon Ola.

On September 23, 1967 President Ferdinand E. Marcos signed Proclamation No. 269 declaring Monday September 25, 1967 as a Special Public Holiday in Guinobatan, Albay.

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GREGORIO H. DEL PILAR*

Sixto Y. Orosa

Gregorio del Pilar was one of several Filipino generals who fought in the Philippine-American War. He is well-known not only because he was the youngest but he was also one of the bravest. It was he who made the gallant sacrifice of providing safety for Emilio Aguinaldo as he retreated towards the northern part of the country to evade pursuing American soldiers. On December 2, 1899 Goyo, as he was known, defended Aguinaldo's retreat towards the north in order to evade pursuing American soldiers.

The article depicts the life of General Gregorio del Pilar, focusing from the time he joined the Katipunan until his heroic death in gallant defense of Tirad Pass.

KEYWORDS: *Gregorio del Pilar*Goyo*Bulacan*Emilio Aguinaldo*Battle of Kakarong de Sili*Battle of Tirad Pass*

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Our hero was born in Bulacan, province of Bulacan, on November 14, 1875. He was of poor but illustrious parentage. Fernando, his father, was a brother of Marcelo H. del Pilar, the great propagandist. From his mother, Felipa Sempio, who was part Chinese, he inherited his clear complexion.

Gregorio first went to a private school in his home town and later studied at the Ateneo de Manila (1887-1896) where he obtained on March 15, 1896 a Bachelor of Arts degree with fairly good grades. He got a grade of "excellent" in Arithmetic and Algebra.

In Manila he boarded with Deodato Arellano who was occupying one of the apartments on Elcano Street in Tondo. Deodato was his uncle-in-law, being married to one of Marcelo's sisters, and was in charge of spreading propaganda leaflets and books. He became the first president of the Katipunan.

By August 1896, the Katipunan was already in full activity in Bulacan and Gregorio and his boyhood friends were soon identified with it. Because of the activities of the Katipuneros, it was not possible for Gregorio to continue studying for the degree of Arts and Trades. In his *Memoirs*, Gregorio states the reason for joining the Revolution:

"The ideal for which we sacrifice our life is noble and worthy, because its goal is liberty.... We Filipinos must be ready to shed the last drop of our blood for the liberty of our country I shall be happy to die for this cause because I love my country and for this love I accept what Destiny has in store for me."

On January 1, 1897 Gregorio had his first baptism of blood. The Spaniards had taken Kakarong de Sili and celebrated their victory. The press featured the feat and predicted the early termination of the "insurrection." Goyo and his brother Julian fought bravely. With their constant firing, a breach was opened on the enemy lines through which they escaped.

Because of the bravery Gregorio had shown in this battle, he was promoted to lieutenant. He and his soldiers went from one place to another --- to Cavite, Montalban, etc., helping a detachment here, another there, often subsisting on charity.

In the assault of Paombong, the signal for readiness was the church bell announcing the mass. Gregorio's men walked one by one towards the church. As soon as one of his men entered the convent, Del Pilar who was then at the plaza in front of the convent fired at the sentinel in the middle of the plaza. This was the signal for the attack and his men with their bolos assaulted the Spanish soldiers in the convent. There was general panic and the Spaniards took to flight without being able to take anything along with them. Gregorio fired at the convent continuously to prevent the Spaniards from situating themselves in the windows.

The assault of Paombong enhanced Del Pilar's prestige. In the words of the Bulakenos, "a new star has risen in the Philippine firmament," and in those of General Artemio Ricarte "Goyo's name was placed on the horns of the moon." To his prowess was attached a derivative of his name, "Pilarine." The Paombong feat was the talk in the province of Bulacan. His fame as a dashing, valiant soldier was confirmed, and his entrance to Biak-na-bato, the general headquarters of the revolutionists, was celebrated with joy by the older officials. Aguinaldo promoted del Pilar to the rank of Lt. Colonel, and from then on the former observed and followed closely the career of the brave and brilliant young officer.

Goyo was one of the signatories of the "Provisional Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines" which was approved on November 1, 1897. Then the peace negotiations headed by Pedro Alejandro Paterno were already in progress, and as suggested by the Spanish Governor General Primo de

Rivera, the officials of the revolution were sent to Hong Kong. Aguinaldo took Gregorio along with him.

Because of the promises made by the Americans, Aguinaldo decided to go back to the Philippines and fight Spain again. He arrived in Cavite in May 1898 and proclaimed himself Dictator. He also appointed Gregorio del Pilar Dictator with the rank of General of the provinces of Bulacan and Nueva Ecija, the only appointment of its kind made by Aguinaldo.

With this appointment, "all his boyhood dreams were eclipsed by this beautiful reality" to liberate his native province from the Spaniards and be the agent of Divine Providence to dispense justice to everyone and administer a good, progressive government. Those close to him affirmed that while Goyo had a high sense of dignity, he never was swell-headed.

He arrived at Kay Luntaw at night carrying 500 Amber rifles. The people were anxious to fight. All they needed were arms and their chief Goyo del Pilar. The best elements of the province joined his army which established its headquarters in barrio Matungao. That same night strategic places were occupied and the siege started on June first. One by one the towns occupied by the Spaniards fell.

On June 23rd the Spanish forces negotiated their surrender. On the following day (24th) the surrender was effected on the town plaza of Malolos. Arches were built and there was a great celebration. Everybody went to the plaza in a festive mood. Those who could not leave their houses which were all decorated with flags because of illness, old age, or incapacity wept with joy. A hymn composed for the occasion was sung and shouts of "Mabuhay" to Goyo rent the skies.

Goyo did not sleep on his laurels after the province of Bulacan was freed from the Spaniards. He reinforced his army and ordered Colonel Pablo Tecson to proceed to Nueva Ecija to similarly drive the Spaniards from there.

Shortly after Bulacan was retaken from the Spaniards, the siege of Manila started. This city was the only bastion still in the hands of the Spaniards. General Pantaleon Garcia, in charge of the siege, was wounded, and Del Pilar took his place. The latter immediately pushed his lines to Caloocan and Vitas near La Loma. The Spaniards surrendered on August 13th and so Del Pilar occupied Juan Luna Street (then called Jolo) and Azcarraga up to the church at Tondo. He could have gone on further if not for the wire received from Aguinaldo that there was an agreement with the American military officials that the Filipino soldiers should not go beyond the Juan Luna Bridge.

With the Philippine Revolution now emerging triumphant, there was general rejoicing. The municipal governments were rapidly reorganized. On September 9, 1898 the Revolutionary Government was transferred to Malolos, Bulacan and Del Pilar was appointed Commanding General of the National Militia of the province.

On the 15th of the same month, the Malolos Congress was inaugurated and the ratification of Philippine Independence was effected on the 29th amidst solemn ceremonies. A grand parade was held on September 29, 1898 and Goyo was assigned to take charge of it. From the Barasoain Church where the Congress was convened to the Malolos Convent where Aguinaldo presided, there was a military cordon on both sides of the street where Aguinaldo and his retinue of cabinet men were to pass. The parade was headed by the "gallant, youthful, and charming figure" of General Del Pilar.

The eruption of hostilities between the American and Filipino armies occurred on the fourth of February (1899) at about 9:00 p.m. Aguinaldo immediately decreed a state of war. That same night General Luna and his troops proceeded to La Loma to repair the Filipino columns dispersed the night before. In the ensuing battle, Majors Torres and Evangelista were killed. Del Pilar's brigade was called urgently to aid in the defense of Caloocan.

Del Pilar went back to Bulacan to intercept the advancing enemy at Guiguinto. At Kingwa, there were two fierce encounters. In the second encounter American Colonel Stotsenberg was killed. Del Pilar's horse (on which he was mounted) was killed. After the encounter, Del Pilar said "We can congratulate ourselves because we have offered heroic resistance thus far. I am contented with the bravery of my soldiers."

The Filipinos were greatly outnumbered by the Americans who had better arms and more ammunition. Del Pilar was very sad to have to retreat upon orders and leave his province, town by town, in the hands of the enemy.

Before retreating, a determined fight was offered, and in each, Del Pilar took not only an active but an important and heroic part. In the battle of San Miguel, during which Del Pilar headed 600 soldiers, the Americans characterized the fight offered by Del Pilar's men as "gallant and intrepid." These encounters took place in April and May.

Mabini suggested the appointment of a commission to sue for an armistice or a suspension of the hostilities with the Schurman Commission which had already arrived here. Del Pilar was appointed member of the Philippine commission but it failed because General Otis demanded complete surrender, which General Luna opposed.

When the Paterno-Buencamino Cabinet went to power, another peace commission was formed, and here Del Pilar represented Aguinaldo and the military. This again shows Aguinaldo's complete confidence in the loyalty and ability of the young general who also enjoyed the confidence of other Filipino officials, the Spaniards and the Americans "because of his nobility of character and humanitarianism."

The second peace commission had several conferences with the American officials but it also failed because Schurman wanted to see Aguinaldo personally and because Otis demanded the surrender of the Philippine Army. Through the negotiations

conducted by Del Pilar, the Americans accorded the members of the Filipino Commission not only protection but every courtesy. General Lawton considered Del Pilar as the head of the Philippine Mission and preferred to deal with him as official correspondence would attest. In an official report to the War Department, Lawton referred to Del Pilar as "the only worthy opponent." James A. LeRoy, very conservative and stingy when he judged the merits of Filipinos during the Revolution, referred to Del Pilar as "the youthful general; the popular young general; one of the idols of the revolutionary cause." A correspondent of the *Chicago Record* reported, among other things, on Del Pilar, thus: "He was a handsome young man and fought only for high motives of justice, never for personal aggrandizement."

After the unsuccessful peace conferences, Del Pilar was summoned to meet Aguinaldo at San Isidro (Nueva Ecija) where three thousand soldiers were gathered. Kalaw attests to his having seen written orders "to capture Luna dead or alive, having been accused of high treason." For this purpose, Del Pilar proceeded to Bamban and Mabalacat but he did not have to "capture" Luna because the latter had been murdered at Cabanatuan where he had been ordered to proceed by Aguinaldo.

Then Del Pilar was ordered to proceed to Bautista, Pangasinan, the former headquarters of Luna, to hunt for the latter's followers, disloyal to Aguinaldo. From Bautista, Del Pilar proceeded to Dagupan where he was appointed Commanding General of the province. Goyo remained in Dagupan from June to November 1899 during which time fighting with the Americans was only occasional and desultory and our youthful general had plenty of time to dig trenches and inspect his men who were distributed in different parts of the province.

An American division succeeded in landing at San Fabian and Del Pilar had started fighting them when he was suddenly called by Aguinaldo to meet him at Sta. Barbara. That was in November 1899. Tarlac, the last revolutionary capital had fallen, and at Bayambang the Revolutionary Junta was

assembled to decide on the dispersion of the army in order to fight a guerrilla warfare. To this Del Pilar objected, because he was still optimistic, but upon the instance of Aguinaldo, he had to acquiesce.

Del Pilar, as the most trusted and most loyal of the officers with two thousand men, protected Aguinaldo's retreat. The enemy was now in hot pursuit. General Young received orders to intercept General Tinio's army to prevent it from joining Del Pilar's.

Aguinaldo's retinue included his mother, his wife and his son, with the rear guard under the command of Col. Montenegro, and himself with his wife and sister with the vanguard headed by Del Pilar. The trek from Bautista to Palanan was fatiguing and painful. Only occasionally could they have a square meal. Del Pilar was the only one who knew Aguinaldo's plan.

At Aringay, Del Pilar and his men spent the night in the convent, where he exhorted them, "Brothers, what do you prefer: to die fighting or to die running away like cowards?" As one man, the soldiers answered, "We want to die fighting."

On November 22nd Gregorio climbed Mount Tirad, 4,500 feet above sea level, got off his horse, rested on the stones on the edge of the path, and afterwards studied the strategic position of the place. He then happily told his men, "The Americans could never take this pass and if they do, it will be over my dead body!"

On November 30th Gregorio went to Cervantes where he met Aguinaldo for the last time. The latter at first tried to dissuade the former from taking part in the battle of Tirad but Del Pilar insisted on his leading the defense personally.

He returned to Angake past noontime and spent the night on top of Mount Tirad.

Early in the morning of December 2nd he heard firing from Concepcion. His aide, Vicente Enriquez, after making a reconnaissance, informed Gregorio that according to the latter's brother the Filipino soldiers had resisted heroically the advance of the American Cavalry and that these had abandoned their horses to continue advancing on foot. Enriquez then inspected the top of a hill where twelve soldiers were posted. He was told that their position was impregnable and they could damage the Americans even by rolling boulders over them. He was satisfied that their position was strong and that their soldiers could hold out indefinitely. Del Pilar had sixty soldiers against one thousand of Major March which number was later reinforced.

Tirad Pass is surrounded by hills and the Filipinos under the direction of Del Pilar had dug trenches on them. Gregorio went from trench to trench exhorting his men to fight bravely.

According to Enriquez, he went back to the hill where he left Del Pilar, and the young general was elated by the fact that his soldiers could shoot from a vantage point on hill tops. The two hurried to the trenches higher up where they heard fresh firing. Del Pilar was straining his eyes to the cogon leaves which were moving irregularly as he was suspecting there were American soldiers hidden there.

As he was about to mount his *rosello* (pinkish white horse incidentally was loaned to him by Aguinaldo), he was hit by a bullet from behind, at the nape of his neck, just below the level of his mouth.

He covered his face with his hands, fell on his back and died instantly. The foregoing account was given by Vicente Enriquez, an eyewitness. It was evident that Del Pilar was outflanked and this was accomplished by the Americans with the aid of "spy-guides" of Macabebe from Pampanga who were paid one dollar and fifty cents (\$1.50) per day to betray Del Pilar. They had shown the enemies a little known path through which they reached Tirad Pass from behind. As already hinted, Del Pilar

and his men fought bravely and out of his sixty soldiers who defended the Pass fifty-three died (including himself).

At Tirad Pass, Del Pilar was elegantly dressed in a new khaki uniform, and as in the case of Christ whose executioners partitioned his robe among themselves, the Americans despoiled Del Pilar's bleeding body completely, one getting his diamond ring, others the three medallions hanging on a gold necklace around his neck, still others, his shoulder knots, his boots, his memoirs, his field glasses, his buttons, his coat, his trousers, etc. Two silk handkerchiefs were retrieved from his pockets.

Let us quote Osmeña:

With the sacrifice gallantly made by General Del Pilar to provide safety for his Chief, Aguinaldo was able to reach, unobstructed, the farthest northern portion of the Philippines, establishing there his hideout where he enjoyed a respite of more than a year. On March 23, 1901 Colonel Funston reached Palanan, Isabela, invaded the headquarters of Aguinaldo and captured him. (The capture was effected through a ruse with the help of Macabebes from Pampanga.)

According to Kalaw, General Gregorio del Pilar became better known because of the accounts of two American war correspondents who accompanied Major March (John McCutcheon and Richard Henry Little) --- more so than from the accounts of local chroniclers, including the eyewitnesses of the "extraordinary battle (of Tirad Pass) which covered our hero with glory."

One American account reads thus:

The body of General Del Pilar was found where he fell. His face expressed the idea of an order or of a supreme wish immediately interrupted. One of his hands was over his heart (from which blood was flowing --- he had been previously wounded) and

from this hand dangled a silk handkerchief on which was embroidered the name of his sweetheart. That Del Pilar fought until his last hour may be gleamed from his memoirs.... The last lines bearing the date of December 2nd written on the field of battle, moments before he died, states, "*I resign to the terrible fate which overcomes me and my valiant soldiers; but I am happy to die fighting for my beloved country.*"

The two American war correspondents were both eyewitnesses to the gallant and heroic death of General Del Pilar. Both gave glowing reports about his bravery. Richard Henry Little wrote thus:

It was a battle above the clouds. I saw the youngest and the bravest of the Filipino generals vainly trying to align his men to detain the American forces who were pursuing them to protect Aguinaldo's retreat. I saw him arraign his soldiers from trench to trench, excite their *amor propio*, to ponder their valor and love of country, mount his white horse in the midst of bullets from our Krag rifles. Then I saw one of our soldiers below turn his way, climb a rock and aim his rifle at General Del Pilar. We held our breath, not knowing whether to pray to God that our soldier hit or miss his mark.

...then we despoiled him. I thought we had despoiled Del Pilar with everything, but no, I was mistaken; his glory as a soldier remained. (from the *Chicago Tribune*)

Our hero rendered our country a great service. We owe a great deal to him. Before the Americans met our young general, their concept of our soldiers was that they were a bunch of brigands or a group of organized highwaymen. After meeting Del Pilar in the abortive peace conferences and more particularly in war, they changed their minds. General Arthur MacArthur officially reported to the U.S. Senate that the uprising against America was not confined in certain places but was general all

over the Philippines. General Lawton made this official report: "Taking into account the disadvantages they have to fight against in arms, equipment and military discipline without arms, short of ammunitions, powder inferior, shells reloaded until they are defective, inferior in every particular of equipment and supplies, they are the bravest men I have ever seen.... These men are indomitable."

The epitaph on the stone marker placed by Major March's soldiers on the site where Del Pilar fell is a fitting *finis* to the concluding chapter of Gregorio del Pilar's story-book:

GENERAL GREGORIO DEL PILAR
KILLED
AT THE BATTLE OF TILA PASS
DECEMBER 2, 1899
COMMANDING AGUINALDO'S REAR GUARD
AN OFFICER AND A GENTLEMAN

Thus lived and died Gregorio del Pilar, Filipino patriot and hero, gallant in war and peace, martyr to duty, and martyr to loyalty, soldier, friend, and gentleman.

THE PHILIPPINE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, 1896-1898: ITS IMPACT ON THE VISAYAN REGION*

Gloria M. Santos

When the beleaguered Katipunan in Luzon was forced by circumstances to launch the Revolution in August 1896 after its secret existence was betrayed, various uprisings took place in different parts of the Visayas in fulfillment not only of their *sanduguan* with their brothers in Luzon but also in pursuit of their cherished dream of freedom and equality.

The article chronicles the uprisings that broke out in Aklan, Antique, Capiz, Iloilo, Negros, and Cebu after the crucial discovery of the Katipunan.

KEYWORDS: Francisco del Castillo Candido Iban* Nineteen Martyrs of Aklan* Esteban Contreras* Flaviano Bellosillo* Juan Arce* Martin Delgado* Aniceto Lacson* Juan Araneta* Sergio Osmeña* Teresa Magbanua* Patrocinio Gamboa* Nazaria Lagos*

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Aklan-Capiz

One of the most heroic acts of patriotism was demonstrated by two patriots from Aklan --- Francisco del Castillo and Candido Iban. Upon learning of the great need of the Katipunan for a printing press, they immediately donated 400 pesos of their money which was part of their lottery winnings in Australia. This amount helped a great deal in the purchase of a printing press at Bazaar El Cisne located in what is now Carriedo St. in Manila. The printing press was instrumental in the dissemination of information regarding the secret society and in printing the *Kalayaan* and the various other forms needed by the organization from day to day. Unluckily, the press was discovered and its discovery led to the arrest of many prominent Katipuneros, ultimately hastening the start of the Revolution.

Francisco del Castillo was appointed by Andres Bonifacio to the Supreme Council of the Katipunan on April 10, 1896; he, together with Candido Iban, was with the leaders of the Katipunan when they explored the caves of San Mateo in Montalban and with trembling hands wrote the words "Viva la Independencia Filipina" on the damp walls of the cave. Immediately after the untimely discovery of the printing press by Fr. Mariano Gil, Del Castillo and Iban contacted the *Supremo* for instructions. Bonifacio told them to leave Manila immediately and form units of the Katipunan in their provinces. After a difficult and dangerous journey in their fishing boat, sailing mostly at night to avoid detection and arrest by the Spanish authorities, they arrived in Batan, Aklan late in December. Del Castillo was appointed by the *Supremo* to be chief of the Katipunan chapter in Capiz with Iban as assistant chief after their successful recruitment of members for the Katipunan chapter in Capiz which at that time still embraced Aklan.

Del Castillo and Iban lost no time in recruiting and initiating members into the Katipunan in a sacred ceremony called *sandugo*. Without hesitation, the people of Batan responded generously. It was on March 3, 1897 that the largest group of initiates participated in a *sandugo* ceremony. It is for

this reason that every March 3 a public holiday is declared in New Washington, formerly a part of the town of Batan. After March 3, 1897 the membership of the Katipunan increased by leaps and bounds in Capiz. People from the towns of Jimeno now called Altavas, Balete, Banga, Kalibo, Malinao, Lezo and Ibajay joined the Capiz chapter of the Katipunan. Having recruited more than 1,000 members, Del Castillo assumed the rank of General in the Katipunan Army with Iban assuming the rank of Colonel and next in command.

On March 17, 1897 the fishing boat *Santisima Trinidad* was seized by the Spanish authorities who suddenly made an appearance on board a Spanish vessel which docked at Batan Bay in the early morning. Knowing that important papers of the Katipunan were on board the fishing vessel, Del Castillo had no choice but to attack the Spanish contingent which at that time was securely entrenched at the stone house of Capitan Juan Azarraga, the municipal captain, located at a corner of the town plaza of Kalibo. At ten o'clock in the morning, the Katipuneros headed by Del Castillo, riding on a white horse, entered the town of Kalibo followed by thirty horsemen and hundreds of Katipuneros on foot. Their entrance into the town unchallenged, Del Castillo proceeded to the stone house and demanded an audience with Capitan Azarraga who refused to answer the demand. Del Castillo next challenged the Spanish contingent to come out of hiding and fight in the open. The Spanish contingent answered Del Castillo's challenge with a volley from their guns.

Undaunted, Del Castillo kept urging his men to keep on fighting with whatever few Mauser rifles, bolos and wooden lances they had. It was the bullet of Moises Ekicito, a native sharpshooter in the company of the Spanish troops, that finally brought down Del Castillo. The Katipuneros continued to storm the house even after they had lost their leader. Seeing that the enemy would not leave the fort and realizing that no amount of bravery would make them win, the Katipuneros retreated to Buswang, bringing with them the body of the fallen General. They brought the remains of Del Castillo on a boat to Capiz where he was buried.

Colonel Iban, who at the time of the siege was in Malinao waiting to attack from the west as he had been commanded by Del Castillo, was captured in Malinao and sent to Lezo where he was jailed. The death of General Del Castillo and the capture of Colonel Iban failed to dampen the spirit of the Katipuneros of Capiz in their fight for freedom. But the arrival of a much larger Spanish contingent headed by General Monet sealed the fate of the uprising in Capiz.

Trapped by the sweet words of General Monet who issued an amnesty proclamation guaranteed by the parish priest of Kalibo that all those who would avail of the amnesty would be set free and given absolute pardon, many of the Katipuneros who had participated in the Kalibo uprising surrendered to General Monet. They discovered too late that the promises contained in the amnesty proclamation were a mere trap to catch the elusive leaders of the Katipunan in Capiz. Of the many who surrendered, twenty were sentenced to die. Except for Nicanor Gonzales, all the nineteen were mercilessly taken to a *camarin* (warehouse) on Amadeo Street on the night of March 23, 1897 where they were inhumanly tortured and heinously shot to death at midnight, without even the semblance of a trial. On the morning of March 24, 1897 their mutilated bodies were loaded in an open cart and paraded in the streets of Kalibo before they were buried in a common grave in the afternoon of the same day. The blood of these nineteen martyrs of Aklan served to water the plant of nationalism, planted on the altar of freedom on Visayan soil.

These first nineteen martyrs of the resistance movement in Aklan who answered the call of their brothers in Luzon were as follows: Ramon Aguirre, Tomas Briones, Domingo de la Cruz, Valeriano Dalida, Claro Delgado, Angelo Fernandez, Benito Iban, Candido Iban, Simeon Inocencio, Isidoro Jimenez, Catalino Mangat, Lamberto Mangat, Valeriano Malinda, Maximo Mation, Simplicito Reyes, Canuto Segovia, Gabino Suggang, Francisco Villorente, and Gabino Yonsal. The late Ignacio Villamor said of them:

A patriot who dies in defense of a cause sometimes assures its triumph like the soldiers who, placed at the vanguard on the battlefield, seem to waste their lives uselessly, but they, little by little, open a path for those who follow them and who may step over them in search of victory. The victory of a just cause may sometimes arrive late but when it arrives, it is due as much to those who failed in the first attempts as to their successors who obtained the success. For this reason we do not forget nor will our children's children forget their guiding us to the temple of liberty.

The tragic death of the Nineteen Martyrs of Aklan inspired the people of the Baya section of Capiz to continue the mission of their fallen heroes. A group of able-bodied farmers and fishermen led by Esteban Contreras decided to lead the brave Capiceños in waging their libertarian struggle one year ahead of the other Visayan provinces of Antique, Iloilo, and Negros Occidental. On May 4, 1897 General Contreras led the Capiceños in Panay. His forces outnumbered the Spanish soldiers in Tanza but the Spanish troops were soon reinforced by the Spanish carabineers who arrived from the capital.

For four days, the Capiceños engaged the reinforced Spanish troops in a fierce battle. The superior arms and number of the Spanish contingent overwhelmed the Capiceños who were forced to withdraw to a boat towards Pilar Bay. In this battle, Lt. Flaviano Bellosillo, one of the outstanding leaders of the Katipunans, was killed. Soon after reaching Pilar, the third and biggest battle fought by the Capiceños under General Contreras took place in the sitio of Balisong of Pilar town.

Entrenched upon a hill, the Capiceños succeeded in warding off the attacks of the Spanish forces. Three times the well-armed Spanish soldiers rushed up Balisong Hill to capture General Contreras and his men and three times they were repulsed. The fourth attack, however, consisted of a whole platoon of fully armed Spanish soldiers. By this time, the ammunitions of General Contreras' troops had dwindled and

were almost gone. Added to this, the brave Captain Juan Arce, brother of Colonel Ruperto Arce who was known to be fighting beside General Emilio Aguinaldo in Luzon, was unfortunately shot in the head and fell dead on the spot. The incident led General Contreras to decide on retreat and escape on the other side of the hill to avoid capture. To punish the Capiceños, Panay was put to the torch.

Iloilo

Although the Revolution of 1896 seemed to bring only defeat and failure in the Visayan region, there at least was a glorious moment in time which the Ilonggos will never forget. This happened on Christmas Day 1898. For one shining moment, Filipino troops made their triumphal entry into Iloilo City in the midst of a jubilant cheering crowd led by the dashing figure of General Martin Delgado, resplendent in his neatly pressed uniform. An eyewitness captures the glorious event as follows:

Only the day before (December 24, 1898), the city which was Spain's last capital in the Philippines, was evacuated by Governor General Diego de los Rios. He left for Zamboanga leaving behind the administration of the city in the hands of the *alcalde*, Don Vicente Gay y Acosta, who surrendered to the *revolucionarios*. And so at 5 o'clock in the morning of December 25, the revolutionary army that had been occupying the adjoining town of Jaro moved to the boundary of Iloilo at the Jaro (now Forbes) Bridge to stage the historic parade. At 7 o'clock the grand marshal, Lt. Colonel Agustin Solis, gave the order to march. At once, breasts heaved and feet stepped to the sound of the march "Libertador" composed by Colonel Posidio Delgado and played by the famed 72nd Regiment Band. At Plaza Alfonso XII (now Plaza Libertad) in front of the provincial building, the Filipino flag was raised to fly proudly in place of the Spanish flag which had been brought down to signify the surrender of that once mighty nation to the revolutionary forces. The most important figure at the Plaza that morning of

December 25, 1898 was General Martin Teofilo Delgado, commander-in-chief of the Visayas-Mindanao Revolutionary Forces.

Who was this Martin Teofilo Delgado who seemed to have the best equipped army in the whole Philippine Republic? How was he able to train his men so efficiently and equip them with ample weapons of war while all the other revolutionary units were suffering from lack of arms and ammunition?

The answer is simple enough. He had been a commissioned officer in the Spanish Militia formed by Governor General Agustin known as the Filipino Volunteer Militia. His brother, Posidio Delgado, was the municipal captain of Santa Barbara. He was so trusted by the Spanish authorities that he was appointed Captain of the *Voluntarios* in Santa Barbara. Contrary to the perception of the Spanish forces headed by General Monet who was responsible for the martyrdom of the 19 Heroes of Aklan, Martin Delgado accepted the appointment for the purpose of securing more arms for the Katipunan movement. As early as after the martyrdom of the 19 Aklan Heroes, General Delgado had been meeting secretly with known leaders of the Katipunan, such as Quintin Salas of Dumangas and Adriano Hernandez of Dingle. Like him, these two were also serving as *Voluntarios*.

In the second week of October 1898, Tan Martin, as he was lovingly called by his fellow Ilonggos, made known to his men while they were supposedly on an official mission hunting down cattle rustlers in barrio Hilicuon that he was a *revolucionario*. All his men were sworn to secrecy on pain of death should they break their vow. On October 28, 1898 the men under the command of Tan Martin publicly declared that they were no longer *voluntarios* but instead were *revolucionarios*. That was the first cry of the Revolution in Iloilo. Led by Tan Martin, they marched to the town and took the municipal building.

Simultaneously, as previously arranged, other towns of Iloilo launched, too, their uprisings. Among those that joined the

uprising on October 28 were Santa Barbara, Pototan, Barotac Nuevo, Dumangas, Dingle and Dueñas. The arrangement for this mass uprising was made at a meeting of the *Comite Central Revolucionario de Bisayas* held at the hacienda of Tan Sabas Solinap in Santa Barbara in the last week of August 1898.

On November 17, 1898 Santa Barbara was inaugurated as the seat of the Revolutionary Government of Iloilo. The Philippine flag was raised for the first time in the province of Iloilo and General Delgado led the multitude in shouting "Down with Spain! Long Live the Philippines! Long Live Independence!" The first set of officers inducted into office of the newly established Revolutionary Government were Roque Lopez, President; Vicente Franco, Vice President and at the same time Secretary of the Interior; Venancio Concepcion, Secretary of Finance; Ramon Avanceña, Secretary of State; Jovito Yasay, Secretary of Justice; Julio Hernandez, Secretary of War; and Fernando Salas, secretary general. By the end of November, General Delgado had succeeded in liberating all the other towns of Iloilo with the exception of Jaro, La Paz, Molo and Iloilo.

On December 10, the *revolucionarios* attacked Iloilo City. The Spanish troops, because of superior arms, succeeded in repelling the attack. On the other hand, Spaniards in Jaro moved over to Iloilo City and abandoned the seat of Catholicism in the Visayas to the revolutionary forces of Colonel Quintin Salas and Lt. Colonel Agustin Solis on December 15, 1898. Immediately, General Delgado transferred his military headquarters from Santa Barbara to the Seminary in Jaro so as to better launch another attack on Iloilo City. A revolutionary paper was published by Don Apolonio Ledesma and edited by Fernando Salas and Pio Tejico. Its maiden issue came out on December 18, 1898. So was the stage set for that glorious morning of December 25, 1898.

Negros

The fight for freedom was not confined to Panay Island. The spirit of the Revolution of 1896 was spread to Negros by Roque Lopez, President of the Revolutionary Government in Iloilo. He wrote to Aniceto Lacson urging him to lead the campaign in Negros.

The Negrenses organized a very militant and efficient revolutionary army that routed and outfought the Spaniards at all sides. Much of the success of the Negros revolutionary force was mainly due to the resourcefulness and expertise of two patriots, namely, Aniceto Lacson and Juan Araneta. The two of them led in the preparation for the general uprising. The rich landowners of Negros were at first indifferent to the movement but through the combined efforts of Aniceto Lacson and Juan Araneta the spirit of patriotism and nationalism was awakened in their hearts. From then on, the movement became financially viable.

The wise planning of Lacson and Araneta resulted in the use not only of guns and ammunition, bolos and sharpened spears which in truth were in short supply, but also of psychological warfare. They ordered their men to cut down young nipa stems, called "pagong" in the native dialect, and ordered the men to shoulder them as if they were rifles. They also asked the people to roll "sawali" into huge rolls to simulate cannons. These schemes worked for the Spaniards whose morale was low because of the continued defeat of their forces in Luzon and began to believe that the Negrense army was gigantic in size and fully armed, as seen through their field glasses. Thus, it came to pass that Colonel De Castro of the Spanish garrison in Bacolod surrendered the garrison to the Negrense troops without a single shot fired.

Immediately after the surrender of the garrison, a group of nervous Spaniards headed by the commander of the garrison, Isidro de Castro, and a victorious contingent of prominent citizens of Negros gathered together at the mansion of Don Jose R. de Luzurriaga to formally sign the papers of surrender of the

Bacolod garrison. Among the prominent citizens of Negros whose names were affixed to the document were General Aniceto Lacson, Chief Commander of the North Zone; General Juan Araneta, Chief Commander of the South Zone; Leandro Locsin, President of the Revolutionary Government of Silay; Simeon Lizares, Julio Diaz and Captain Jose Acanteler. Witnesses to the signing of the surrender papers were Jose R. Luzurriaga and Manuel Fernandez Yanson. They were also the mediators between the Spaniards and the Negrenses. Luis R. de Luzurriaga, Timoteo Unson, Domingo Hernaez, Timoteo Hernaez, and Antonio Jayme were also present. The signing of the formal surrender of the garrison took place on November 6, 1898.

Soon after the surrender of the Bacolod garrison, a Negros Constitution was framed and the first set of officials of the Provincial Revolutionary Government of Negros was installed. Those installed were General Aniceto Lacson, President; General Juan Araneta, Secretary of War; Eusebio Luzurriaga, Secretary of Treasury; Simeon Lizares, Secretary of Interior; Nicolas Golez, Secretary for Development; Antonio Jayme, Secretary of Justice; Agustin Amenabar, Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce; and Melecio Severino, Executive Secretary.

Cebu

In Cebu, the significant contribution to the cause of the Philippine Revolution was made by Sergio Osmeña, Sr. Although he did not take an active part in the Visayan uprisings, his role as communicator of events was highly useful for he became the link of the Katipunan in the central government of Aguinaldo to the Visayas chapters of the Katipunan. As a young newspaper correspondent, it was easy for him to carry communications in his head from one person to another. An example of this type of work was his regular report to General Aguinaldo about the happenings regarding the revolutionary movements in the Visayas, especially in Cebu. On the other hand, he would relay verbal and sometimes written instructions

from the Aguinaldo headquarters to the Cebuanos. This activity kept the fire of revolution burning in the hearts of the Cebuanos.

On February 22, 1899 all forms of hostilities between the Cebuano *revolucionarios* and the American forces formally ended with Cebu being taken by the Americans. Somehow, the Cebuanos realized it was useless to fight when arms and ammunition were not available. Instead, personified by Osmeña, the Cebuanos prepared to secure what they wanted from the foreign aggressors through friendly means.

Women of the Visayas

How about the women of the Visayas? Were they like their sisters in Luzon who played major roles in the armed struggle for freedom? Indeed, the women of the Visayas did more than the usual chore assigned to women in those days. Without hesitation, they also took up arms side by side with their loved ones. Among the Visayans whose names are written in the annals of our country are Teresa Magbanua, Patrocinio Gamboa, Nazaria Lagos and a score of others.

Teresa Magbanua may easily be called the most outstanding woman revolutionary except for Agueda Kahabagan of Luzon. In fact, Teresa has been called the Visayan Joan of Arc because of her exceptional ability and courage in the field of battle. She had two brothers, Elias and Pascual, who were both active Katipuneros in Iloilo. The Magbanuas were natives of Pototan, Iloilo. Early in the days of the Katipunan, Teresa, better known as Nay Isa, joined her uncle's group of Katipuneros after she was allowed to be initiated just like the men. She fought bravely side by side with the men and was as skillful as them in eluding the bullets of the enemy.

Nazaria Lagos offered herself to act as nurse to take care of the sick and the wounded among the *revolucionarios*. So full of courage, she unhesitatingly converted her father's *hacienda* buildings into a hospital ready to receive the sick and the wounded. She not only provided beds and furniture for the

revolutionary hospital but gathered and kept medicinal herbs such as *alagaw*, *buyo*, *luya*, *guava* and many others.

Patrocinio Gamboa of Jaro, Iloilo exhibited her exceptional courage when she volunteered to take the Philippine flag and saber that were sent by Aguinaldo to be used at the triumphal entry of General Delgado in Santa Barbara. At that time, no man would like to volunteer to do the job for fear that they may be caught by the Spanish patrol. Patrocinio Gamboa volunteered to do the job. So, it was due to her courage that the *revolucionarios* of General Delgado were able to unfurl the Philippine flag on that blessed Christmas Day of 1898.

Conclusion

Thus it may be seen that while the Revolution started in the Tagalog region, the spirit of the Revolution was also enkindled in the Visayas, leading to their incorporation in the First Republic. They were part and parcel of the Filipino nation that was born.

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THE RULES OF EVIDENCE AS INNOVATIVE APPROACH TO THE TRUE IDENTITY OF PIGAFETTA'S MAZAU*

Celedonio O. Resurreccion

Antonio Pigafetta, chronicler of Ferdinand Magellan's voyage, narrates the celebration of a mass and the erection of a cross on Easter Sunday March 31, 1521 in Mazaua. Where is Mazaua today? Two groups of scholars have conflicting claims. One group says that the Easter Mass took place at the present islet of Masao in Butuan, now part of the Province of Agusan del Norte. The other group says that Mazaua is the island of Limasawa, now part of the Province of Southern Leyte.

The article presents an innovative approach in resolving the Masao-Limasawa controversy by applying the rules of evidence of the Rules of Court of the Philippines. Using evidentiary proof, the article concludes in favor of Masao in Butuan as the site of the first Easter Mass in the Philippines.

KEYWORDS: *Antonio Pigafetta* Mazaua* Butuan* Masao* Limasawa* Amoretti-Ambrosiana Manuscript* James Robertson*

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The Importance and Role of Evidence

What is the value of evidentiary approach to those who write history, those who indulge in historical criticism, and those who simply engage themselves in the study or teaching of history?

The rule of evidence is a useful aid in historical inquiry according to G. Kitson Clark who gives the following advice:

Those who research into history and those who use history ought to consider very carefully the rules which a court of law imposes on the evidence brought before it: the exclusion of hearsay evidence, the need for demonstration, or the duty to hear both sides to a conflict. Much of the evidence used by historians is hearsay. Often, there remains only one account of an historical translation and there is no independent testimony which can be used. (Clark 1967, 16)

The object of the law of evidence is to have a scientific inquiry of the truth --- to establish its truth by the use of perceptive and reasoning faculties. (Moran 1980, 2)

Evidence limits the matters to be given only to admissible evidence. Evidence is admissible when relevant and competent: *relevant* when it bears directly to the issue; *competent* when not excluded by the rules of evidence. (Moran 1980, 3)

Litigations or controversies will not be endlessly prolonged. The real issue in a given case will not be obscured by collateral matters.

Assumptions

The following assumptions require no evidentiary proof:

There exist the island of Limasawa, part of the Province of Southern Leyte, and the island of Masao, part of Butuan City in the Province of Agusan del Norte.

The latitudes of present-day Limasawa and Masao are indicated in the *Philippine Gazetteer (1945)* as follows: Limasawa --- 9 deg 55 min; Masao --- 9 deg 00 min North.

The Pigafetta manuscript in Italian, known to the bibliographic world as Amoretti-Ambrosiana Manuscript, is used by historians as primary or best evidence of the narrative of Magellan's circumnavigation of the world.

The French version of the Pigafetta account, catalogued as Nancy Manuscript, at present known as Beinecke-Yale Manuscript, although it is secondary evidence, therefore inferior and substitutionary, may be utilized for comparative purposes.

Presentation of Direct Evidence

There are three kinds of direct evidence: 1) primary or direct best evidence 2) cumulative evidence, and 3) corroborative evidence.

PRIMARY or BEST EVIDENCE is that which affords the greatest certainty of the fact in question. Thus, Pigafetta's manuscript in Italian, the Amoretti-Ambrosiana document, is the primary or best evidence. To answer the question "Where is the location of Mazaua?" the primary or best evidence (the Pigafetta manuscript) when presented operates as a rule of exclusion of lesser evidence.

Pigafetta says that Mazaua is located at latitude "nouve gradi el duo terzi" (nine degrees and two-third toward the Arctic Pole o North. This is confirmed by the Nancy Manuscript which gives Mazaua's latitude as "neuf degrez et deux tiers" which has the same translation --- 9 degrees and two-third. It is obvious Pigafetta's Mazaua is now the islet of Masao in Butuan.

We are aware of James Alexander Robertson's translation of Mazaua's latitude as "nine and two-third degrees" which is equivalent to 9 degrees 40 minutes north. Without analysis and explanation, Robertson went beyond a mere translation of the latitude and took the liberty of substituting Limasawa for Mazaua in a preface summarizing Pigafetta's account, thus misleading some four generations of historians and students of history from circa 1900 to the present, into believing that Magellan went to Limasawa in Leyte and not to Masao in Butuan.

But, on the other hand, was Robertson correct? Consider the following points:

As between the text of the original document and its translation into another language, the original text prevails.

Robertson's translation is not faithful to the original text. It altered the original sequence of the words and as a result, distorted the meaning.

If Robertson were correct, we should find either Mazaua or Limasawa at that latitude of 9 degrees 40 minutes North which is not its actual latitude. As a matter of fact, *expert evidence* furnished by Captain Epafrodito Flores, a retired marine officer who had sailed many times in the area of Surigao Strait, Mindanao Sea, Canigao Channel, and Bohol Strait, affirms that there is no island at latitude 9 degrees 40 minutes North at the given longitude of Mazaua. This can be verified from any gazetteer of the Philippines.

Robertson's translation violates the principle of *immediate antecedent*, according to which only the preceding term or phrase is affected by a qualifying word and the more remotes ones are not. Thus, in the original "nine degrees and two-third," the word *degrees* apply only to the word *nine*, its immediate antecedent. The phrase "two-third" is not in term of degree but of something else --- minute, an elliptical term, hence

omitted. By analogy, the expression "five foot two" does not mean seven feet; it means "five feet and two inches."

We offer as cumulative evidence the logbook records presented by pilot Albo, pilot Pancaldo (in the *Roteiro*) Moluccas Governor Brito (based on the records of the captured ship *Trinidad*, Magellan's flagship) as well as the *Philippine Gazetteer*.

CUMULATIVE EVIDENCE is defined as additional evidence of the *same* kind and to the same state of facts. (Moran 1980, 3) It verifies or repeats the direct evidence already obtained.

<i>Primary Evidence</i>	<i>Latitude of Mazaua</i>
Pigafetta's Manuscript	9 deg 00 min 40 sec North
<i>Cumulative Evidence</i>	<i>Latitude of Mazaua</i>
Pilot Albo	9 deg 00 min 40 sec North
Pilot Pancaldo	9 deg 00 min North
Brito	9 deg 00 min North
Philippine Gazetteer	9 deg 00 min North
<i>Contrary Evidence</i>	<i>Latitude of Mazaua</i>
Limasawa (Gazetteer)	9 deg 55 min North
Robertson's translation	9 deg 40 min North

We conclude that the cumulative evidence is in harmony with and supports Pigafetta's latitude of Mazaua.

CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE is additional evidence of a *different* kind and character to the same point. (Moran 1980, 3)

Corroborative evidence has to be supplied by other sources. Unfortunately, Pigafetta's narrative accounts --- three in French and one in Italian --- are the only surviving manuscripts about the historic expedition of Magellan around the world. The

writings of other chroniclers are either lost or have been destroyed by fortuitous events.

Such being the unfortunate situation, the next best thing to do is to get the corroborative evidence from various vignettes in the narrative account of Pigafetta. We offer here three corroborative evidences: 1) the sailing route between Humunu (Homonhon) and Mazaua; 2) the sailing route between Mazaua and Catighan; and 3) the visit to Chippit in Mindanao

HUMUNU-MAZAUA ROUTE: Pigafetta states that the distance between Humunu and Mazaua was twenty-five *leguas*. Is this the distance between Homonhon and Limasawa as claimed by partisans of the Robertsonian tradition or between Homonhon and Masao?

We approach the solution to this problem by taking the differences in Homonhon and Masao. Then the two distances are compared to 25 *leguas* in terms of degrees and minutes. Whichever of the two distances, or latitudinal differences, is equal to or approximates the equivalent of 25 *leguas*, gives the answer. Thus, we demonstrate as follows:

Humunu-Limasawa Distance

Humunu	10 degrees 45 minutes North
Limasawa	9 degrees 55 minutes North
Difference	50 minutes

Humunu-Mazaua (Masao) Distance

Humunu	10 degrees 45 minutes North
Mazaua	9 degrees 00 minutes North
Difference	1 degree 45 minutes

Conversion of *Legua* to Degree

17.5 leguas = 1 degree
25 leguas = 1 degree 26 minutes

The Humunu-Mazaua distance of 25 *leguas* given by Pigafetta is equivalent to 1 degree 26 minutes which matches

closely the Humunu-Mazaua (Masao) distance of 1 degree 45 minutes rather than the Humunu-Limasawa distance of only 50 minutes.

MAZAUA-CATIGHAN-CEBU ROUTE: According to Pigafetta, the distance from Mazaua to Catighan is twenty *leguas*; and from Catighan to Cebu, fifteen *leguas*. In an excellent monograph on the navigational aspect of Magellan's voyage to Philippine waters, the previously cited Captain Flores makes the observation that a) the route taken by Magellan from Mazaua to Cebu is the same route that modern commercial vessels take from Masao Port in Butuan in going to Cebu and b) the sailing distance of these modern vessels is exactly the same as that given by Pigafetta, that is, twenty *leguas* for the Masao-Catighan route, and fifteen *leguas* for Catighan-Cebu. This is expert testimony of an experienced marine officer which corroborates this part of the navigational account of Pigafetta.

VISIT TO CHIPPIT IN MINDANAO: This part of the account unequivocally shows the precise location of Mazaua. Let us quote the English translation of the Amoretti-Ambrosiana manuscript of Pigafetta: (Blair and Robertson 1909, XXXIII: 200)

That part of the island
belongs to the same land
as Butuan and Calaghan
and lies toward Bohol
and is bounded by Mazaua
that port is called Chippit

Pigafetta has left no room for doubt as to the location of Mazaua. Mazaua borders Chippit which belongs to the same land as Butuan and Calaghan. Therefore, Mazaua cannot be Limasawa which lies off southern Leyte across the vast Mindanao Sea.

Presentation of Indirect Evidence

INDIRECT or CIRCUMSTANCIAL EVIDENCE is that which tends to establish a fact by proving another fact. It does not of itself conclusively establish a disputed fact but merely creates an inference or presumption of its existence. By showing other facts, the ultimate fact sought to be established is sustained. (Martin 1980, 4)

ORAL MAZAU (MASAO) TRADITION: There exists a strong oral tradition in Butuan that Magellan went there, particularly to the islet of Masao, a delta located at the mouth of the Agusan River. That tradition found its way into the writings of missionaries, government officials, travelers, chroniclers and journalists like Wenceslao Retana and scientists like Fr. Jose Algue, S.J. They had no written documents to rely on because the Amoretti edition of the Ambrosiana manuscript of Pigafetta was discovered and published for the first time only in 1800 and was not available in the Philippines throughout the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Robertson's translation was published only in 1906.

The Masao or Butuan tradition has existed for four hundred and sixty-nine years, from 1521 to the present (1990 as of this writing). Up to roughly 1900 as cut-off date, no one to our knowledge questioned the Butuan tradition. Prior to 1906, the year of publication of Robertson's translation into English of Pigafetta's account, a Limasawa tradition was unheard of. It was Robertson who started the Limasawa hypothesis and popularized it as uncritical historians accepted "without question" the unexplained substitution of Mazaua for Limasawa. Some scholars, like John Schumacher, S.J., Miguel Bernad, S.J., and William Henry Scott have tried to discredit the Butuan historiographic tradition but have not said a word about the oral tradition.

ABUNDANCE OF GOLD IN MAZAU AND BUTUAN: Limasawa has never been known to have gold mines or a store of gold.

MAP OF MINDANAO: One of Pigafetta's maps reproduced in Vol. XXXIII of the Blair and Robertson opus, opposite page 231, shows the region Beaniam, Calagan, Butuan, Magindanao and Chippit in their geographical relationship in the island of Mindanao. Mazaua is not indicated on the map simply means that it has been absorbed by Butuan, the much larger geographical entity. But the textual description in Pigafetta's account leaves no room for doubt: "that part (referring to Chippit) of the island belongs to the same land as Butuan and Calaghan and lies toward Bohol and is bounded by Mazaua." (Blair and Robertson 1909, XXXIII: 205)

ABUNDANCE OF ANIME TREES IN MAZAU, BUTUAN: Pigafetta recounts that in the morning of March 28, 1521 they went to an island where they saw a fire the night before. That seeming fire was the flamboyant flames of torches. "They (the people) used the gum of a tree called *anime* wrapped in palm or fig (i.e., banana) leaves for light." (Blair and Robertson 1909, XXXIII: 121) The *anime* tree grows abundantly in Butuan, not in Leyte and certainly not in Limasawa.

ABUNDANCE OF SAGO PALM IN MAZAU, BUTUAN: Pigafetta records that he saw sago palms during his visit in Mazaua. These palms are endemic in Mindanao. They do not grow in Leyte or in Limasawa.

MAZAU, A HUNTING GROUND: Pigafetta mentions Raia Colambu, king of Mazaua, and his brother Raia Siaui, king of Butuan and Calaghan. "When these kings went to see one another, they both went to hunt in that island where we were." (Blair and Robertson 1909, XXXIII: 123) Today, Masao is reported to be a "sportsman's paradise" because of its richness in animal life. Limasawa yields no evidence of being or having been a hunting ground. Two, if Mazaua is Limasawa as claimed by partisan historians, it defies logic for the king of Butuan and Calaghan, far larger territory abounding in wildlife, to be the one crossing the Mindanao Sea to hunt with his brother in such a small, rocky island of Limasawa. That it was Raia Siaui who would meet his brother is explained by the rich game available in

Mazaua and the proximity of their kingdom, just in the neighborhood of each other.

DRINKING CEREMONIES: Pigafetta observed that inland in Chippit which was described as bounded by Mazaua, the people performed the same drinking ceremonies as those of Mazaua.“ (Blair and Robertson 1909, XXXIII: 203) Before the king took the cup (of wine) to drink, he raised his clasped hands toward the sky, and then toward me; and when he was about to drink, he extended the fist of his left hand toward me (at first I thought he was about to strike me) and then drank. I did the same toward the king. They all make those signs toward one another when they drink.” Legazpi and his men who in 1565 made landings at several points in Leyte and Limasawa witnessed no such drinking ritual as was practiced in Mazaua and Chippit.

MAZAUA AS PLACE NAME: The word Mazaua, or its variant Masao, is not Visayan, not Waray-waray, and is incomprehensible to the people of Samar and Leyte and their offshore islands. It is a Butuanon word which means bright or brilliant. The Butuanon dialect is different and distinct from the Visayan language or any of its branches like Hiligaynon, Cebu and Waray-waray. Mazaua is a geographical feature or characteristic of a promontory in Butuan (Masao) that remains bright, brilliant for some after the sunset and is used as a guide by fishermen sailing homeward after the day. There is no landmark with a similar characteristic in Limasawa.

GOOD PORT IN MAZAUA (MASAO) BUTUAN: The ease with which the Magellan ships approached Mazaua attests to the presence of a good deep sea and absence of natural barriers like shoals and coral reefs. It has been used by big ships, commercial vessels of the heavier or heaviest type, and even warships. In fact, in 1967 it was declared by law a port. On the other hand, Limasawa has always been known as almost inaccessible because it is surrounded with navigational barriers, shoals and coral reefs.

GAZETTEER (1945) DESCRIPTION OF LIMASAWA AND MASAO: A source of indirect or inferential evidence is the description of Limasawa and Masao published in a 1945 gazetteer. We quote:

LIMASAWA ISLAND lies southwestward of Tancaan Point, latitude 09 degrees 55 minutes 8 seconds N. longitude 125 degrees 02 minutes E. from which it is separated by a clear, deep channel 3 miles wide and 719 feet (219 m.) high in the northern part. There are no tall mountains, no valleys, no rivers and rice lands. It is fringed with narrow coral reefs and no sandy beaches. It is seven kilometers long, one and a half kilometers wide, with a one mile shoal line.

The tidal current runs with great velocity off the southern end of Limasawa. The floods stream to the northeast and ebb to the southeast. Big vessels cannot land near the edge of the island on account of the shoal line and strong currents and to anchor one mile away only during fair weather.

Coconut and breadfruit (kulo) trees thrive well on this sandy, rocky island.

This is the picture of Limasawa in contemporary times 400 years after the civilizing and modernizing influence of the West (Spain and the United States) was introduced into the country. One can just imagine how Limasawa looked like 400 years back. Legazpi in 1565 saw a desolate picture.

Following is the description of Butuan Bay and Masaw Islet taken from the same source:

BUTUAN BAY is situated at latitude 9 degrees 6 minutes 2 seconds N. with longitude 125 degrees 31 minutes E. On the northwestern side where the water flows northerly is the island of Masaw (now called Masao Port) with a very good anchorage for big ocean liners and vessels, the water being very deep and the bar steep too.

MASAW ISLET (BARRIO OF BUTUAN) Masaw islet lies at latitude 9 degrees 00 minutes 2 seconds North. Masaw is bounded by the Agusan River on the East, Montange River and the town proper of Butuan on the South, connecting Suwatan River on the SW and Bonbon-Libertad Rivers on the W but discharge their waters toward the north into the open sea or Butuan Bay.

On the northern portion lined with tall coconut trees is fringed by a sandy beach and a few meters from the beach is a big settlement.

On the southwestern side and the portions facing directly to the south is densely wooded where wild game abound lies a long stretch of mangrove, nipa palms and most noticeable of all are the abundance of sago palms. The abutting rivers, except Agusan River, are almost uniform in width from 15 to 20 meters wide. Along these river banks can be found tracts of rice lands.

Had Magellan gone to Limasawa with his hundreds of sailors, there would have been a tremendous logistical problem of food. In contrast, no one who reads the description of Masaw Islet can escape the pleasure of reconstructing the events that took place there during the seven days of goodwill and friendship spent by Magellan and his men --- the big settlement, the densely wooded hunting ground, the mangrove, nipa palms and sago palms, and the tracts of rice lands, all of which are mentioned in Pigafetta's account.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this article, we adverted to the raging controversy as to the site of the First Easter Mass in the Philippines. Was the mass held in Limasawa (Leyte) or in Masao (Butuan)? To answer this question, we had to raise another: Where was Mazaua?

We felt that we could not conclusively resolve the problem if we followed the traditional approach of needlessly exhuming secondary sources (non-witness accounts) written more than one hundred years after the event and based largely on rumors and hearsay, at best, on oral tradition and pointing out the defects and deficiencies of the chronicles in order to prove, through probabilities and improbabilities, the truth or falsity of a proposition. We looked for an innovative approach, employing the rules of evidence used by the courts in ascertaining the truth regarding a matter of fact.

The result proves to be very gratifying. All the types of evidence marshaled show unanimously, hence, conclusively, that Mazaua is today Masao, Butuan.

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TEACHING HISTORY FOR NATIONAL UNITY*

Diosdado G. Capiño

It is intrinsic for government to be concerned with the development of national goals, the principal of which is to promote the general welfare of the people. In this endeavor, the teacher of history has a role to play --- to promote national unity.

The article teaches various ways and means inspired from the lessons of history on how to attain national unity. Drawing its *raison d'être* from the 1973 Philippine Constitution promulgated during the Martial Law Regime which states that "All educational institutions shall aim to inculcate love of country, teach the duties of citizenship and develop moral character, personal discipline and scientific, technological and vocational efficiency," the article places above political considerations the obligation of the teacher of history to promote national unity.

KEYWORDS: *Constitution*Nation*Citizen*National Unity*National Character*National Pride*

- Keynote Address delivered at the 1975 PHA Annual Conference held at the National Library of the Philippines on November 30-December 1, 1975; published in *Historical Bulletin* Vol. XIX January-December 1975 Nos. 1-4

"We Have Made a Pact"

In his report to the nation on the second anniversary of the proclamation of Martial Law, President Ferdinand Marcos said:

Our support for the New Society will be known not by what we say of our leaders in government but by what we do to share their responsibilities. Our people need less of men who will say the New Society is good and more of men who will contribute what they can to give meaning to our efforts.

The appeal of the President is rooted in the new Constitution which imposes on every citizen an inspiring obligation:

It shall be the duty of the citizen to be loyal to the Republic and to honor the Philippine flag, to defend the state and contribute to its development and welfare, to uphold the Constitution and obey the laws, and to cooperate with the duly constituted authorities in the attainment and preservation of a just and orderly society.

"Tomorrow We Shall Be Citizens of the Philippines"

In his readings on the history of nations, Rizal decried the lack of national sentiment in our country. He pointed out that "a man in the Philippines is only an individual; he is not a member of a nation." (Rizal 1964, 262) And so he labored hard to develop national consciousness and expressed the wish that every Filipino should think like Marcelo H. del Pilar. "On the day when all Filipinos," said Rizal, "think like him (the unity of Filipinos) and like us, on that day we shall have fulfilled our arduous mission which is the formation of the Filipino nation."

Fired by his vision of a new philosophy for the modernization of the Philippines, Rizal continued:

Tomorrow we shall be citizens of the Philippines, whose destiny will be a glorious one because it will be in loving hands With the new men that will spring from her bosom and the remembrance of the past, she will perhaps enter openly the wide road to progress and all will jointly work to strengthen the Fatherland The country will recover her old qualities which she is losing little by little and again become a lover of peace, gay, lively, smiling, hospitable and fearless. (Rizal 1963, 187)

Teach the Dramatic Events in the Formation of the Nation

The first fundamental obligation of a teacher of history is to teach the dramatic events in the development of the country into a nation-state. The larger objective in this task is, of course, the development of loyalty to one's country, i.e., devotion to its ideals and aspirations.

It is interesting to note that this is the essence of national history. A survey of history curricula in the schools of the majority of member states of UNESCO reveals that the teaching of national history predominates at every stage of the school course and is as evident in countries with a decentralized school system as in those where national control of education is far-reaching. (UNESCO 1951)

The teaching of these dramatic events is in accord with sound nationalism which is a state of mind in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is toward the country. (Kohn 1965, 9)

Let it be stressed that the judicious glorification of a country is justified by the group experiences of a people. And history is the natural vehicle for teaching loyalty. (Daniels 1968, 10)

Present the Dramatic Events in the Formation of the Nation-State in Their Chronological Order

Chronology means the arrangement of historical facts in the order of their occurrence. This is known as the evolutionary approach, the most sensible appeal in teaching national unity. Historical facts are naturally and conveniently organized on the basis of chronology. And chronology makes possible a sequential narrative of the development of an institution, a movement, custom or an idea. (West 1949, 51-52)

An American professor of history whose book on the teaching of history is still valid today wrote:

If it is desirable to build up in school any exact and lasting knowledge of the course of human development, a simple chronological classification of salient, related facts may with reason be regarded as the most convenient and effective framework that has ever been devised. (Johnson 1940, 217)

Teach the Historical Manifestation of the National Character of a People

Another important obligation of a history teacher is the teaching of the national character of a people because character traits are the rallying points for national unity. A sense of perspective is possible if the historical manifestation of these character traits is presented by the resourceful teacher.

Rizal brought home to his countrymen that without virtues there is no redemption. He appealed to them to sacrifice their passions on the altar of the country:

May they (our countrymen) also sacrifice their passions on the altar of the country! May they not seek their welfare in the virtues that distinguish and adorn free people ... (Rizal 1956, 62)

Why did the early Filipino insurrections fail? Was it due to the predominance of selfish individual interests over national interest? Rizal's answer was prophetic in terms of historical experience:

All the petty insurrections that had broken out in the Philippines had been the work of a few fanatics and discontented military men who, in order to attain their ends, had to resort to deceit and trickery. Thus they all failed. None of the insurrections was popular in character nor based on the necessity of the whole nation nor did it struggle for the laws of humanity and justice. (Rizal 1964, 139)

In rallying the Filipinos to the cause of the Katipunan, Andres Bonifacio enjoined them to live up to the character traits enumerated in his *Decalogue*:

In the fury of your struggle, some of you might die in the midst of the battle but this is an honor that will be a legacy to our country, to our people, and to our descendants.

Your death will infuse life into our country and will serve as a sweet remembrance to your sisters and brothers (the members of the Katipunan)

One of the important points that received Bonifacio's attention in working for the acceptance of the Katipunan as the instrument for the attainment of the goals of freedom was his stress on national solidarity. In explaining what the Filipinos should know about the state of their country, Bonifacio said:

Reason teaches us to be united in sentiments, thoughts and purposes, so that we may acquire the strength necessary to crush the evil that is afflicting our people. (Agoncillo 1963, 3)

Likewise, in rallying Filipinos to the cause of the second phase of the Revolution, Apolinario Mabini offered his *True Decalogue*. In pointing to the necessity of cultivating the special

gifts given to us by God, Mabini urged his countrymen never to leave the path of righteousness and justice. He believed that his people had the qualities of greatness. Wrote Mabini:

A people that have given proof of their capacity for suffering and strength in tribulation and danger, and for hard work and industry in peace, are not destined for slavery. They are called upon to be great and one of the strongest arms of God to rule the destinies of mankind ... they have resources to claim a modest but worthy place in the family of nations.

President Manuel L. Quezon also rallied the Filipinos to strengthen their character to build national solidarity. In an impassioned speech delivered on his birthday in August 1938, he said:

National strength can only be built on character. A nation is nothing more than its citizenry. It is the people that make up the nation and, therefore, it cannot be stronger than its component parts. Their weakness is its failings, their strength its power. Show me a people composed of vigorous, sturdy individuals, of men and women healthy in mind and body; courteous, brave, industrious, self-reliant; purposeful in thought as well as in action; imbued with sound patriotism and a profound sense of righteousness, with high social ideals and a strong moral fiber, and I will show you a great nation, a nation that will not be submerged, a nation that will emerge victorious from the trials and bitter strife of a distracted world, a nation that will live forever, sharing the common task of advancing the welfare and promoting the happiness of mankind. (Quezon 1938)

Teach the Role of National Pride

Let us teach our pupils and students that the mainspring of a nation's vitality is national pride without developing it to the

point of national conceit. As the late President Jose P. Laurel said:

People who are faithful to the racial spirit enshrined in the history of their heroes are vouchsafed the guidance of eternal truth; a wise Providence permits them to glimpse the design of divine order and thereby gives correct direction to their labors toward the approximation of the perfect state. Rizal was unerring in his postulation of the great destiny of the Filipino people because he possessed pride of race to an exalted degree.

Under the new order (during the Republic of the Philippines under President Laurel in 1943-1944) in our country, all impediments to frequent and devout communion with our glorious past have been removed; the founts of inspiration issuing forth from the valiant deeds of Soliman and Lapu-Lapu, from the achievements of Kalantiao and the unknown builders of the Benguet rice terraces, from the supreme sacrifice of Rizal and Bonifacio and countless other heroes of the nation should refresh our energies, wash away any trace of inferiority we might still feel, and nourish us into greater strength. (Laurel 1943, 11-12)

Let us impress on our students that history is a living force in the life of a nation because it develops in us an awareness of our national aspirations. Since history is the record of man's experiences, then it furnishes us with the wisdom and experiences of our ancestors, exhibits their living actions and enables us to profit by their successes and failures. (Allen 1967, 293)

In our efforts to help build the New Society, it is clear that the lives, activities and thoughts of men and women who have contributed their share to nation-building should be a part of history instruction. The biographical approach is an excellent way of doing this. For, as Thomas Carlyle said, "the history of

what man has accomplished in this world is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here." (Johnson 1940, 135)

Carlyle's opinion suggests that the study of biography should become a bridge to history, the stress being on the relation of man to his own time.

Significantly, in enacting Republic Act 1425 (otherwise known as the Rizal Law), the Congress of the Philippines declared a patriotic policy which is an excellent guide to teachers as they go about in their daily teaching. The patriotic policy which stresses the need for national unity is spelled out thus: "Today, more than any other period of history, there is a need for rededication to the ideals of freedom and nationalism for which our heroes lived and died."

Additionally, the historic Rizal Law gives emphasis on the importance of national character, to wit:

In honoring our heroes, particularly the national hero and patriot, Jose Rizal, we remember with special fondness and devotion their lives and works that have shaped the national character.

Teach the Continuing Efforts at National Unity

It is a primary concern of every teacher of history to develop a sense of continuity. This is a reasonable objective of history instruction because history, unlike the other social sciences or any other kind of inquiry on human affairs, is basically concerned with time --- before and after, cause and effect, and relationship of events. History is concerned more than any other social science with questions of change or of repetition, or of continuity, or of development in the affairs of society. (Daniels 1968, 27)

To provide the class with a sense of continuity, the current affairs or current events approach is practical, pedagogical, and useful. History as the record of past events in

their various moods provides the background to the latest developments. To quote Johnson again:

If the distinguishing feature of history is its indirect method of arriving at knowledge, it is not the age of an event that makes it history; it is the method of arriving at knowledge of the event. The line between what we call current events and what we call history is crossed where our own direct observation of events ceases. Beyond that line all is history the instant it happens; beyond that line knowledge can be acquired only by historical method; beyond that line the study of events in any sense current is a study of history. (Johnson 1940, 27)

The undercurrents of history expressed in terms of primary forces belong both to the past and the present. The history of social thought, the development of nationalism, and the history of human rights prove this fact. The delightful past and the challenging present offer many useful guides or lessons. It is conceded that the distant past helps explain the immediate present and the vibrating present may predict the uncertain future.

The phenomenon of social change brings us closer to the fact that the process of history-making should be the concern of every citizen for an understanding of national progress. It is desirable that teaching current affairs or current events should have as one of its objectives to make students comprehend the process of history-making which will help them understand the social environment by explaining to them the efforts of various social forces upon the existing social order. (Lambie 1960, 63-80)

In espousing the Democratic Revolution which is democratic, authentic, liberal, constitutional, peaceful and nationalist, President Marcos wrote:

The Democratic Revolution ... is also Filipino in concept and inspiration. It is faithful to our historical

aspirations and experience, rooted, as it were, in the historical demands of the Filipino which gained full expression in the Revolution of 1896

What are the aims, the demands of this struggle? As expressed by the propagandists and ideologues of the past century, who were "articulating the inarticulate thoughts of the Filipino people," these were all summed up in the desire for a political authority that would be the instrument of nationalist liberation, the promoter of the people's intellectual and moral development and their economic and social being. They envisioned a society based on moral principles, governing in turn the people's economic and social relationships. (Marcos 1971, 54-55)

Against the historical background of our struggles for freedom, history lessons may be developed to understand and appreciate the continuing efforts of the government in promoting national unity.

What May Be Done Now?

First, teach the continuing re-orientation in strengthening our moral values as the foundation for national unity, always remembering the great principle espoused by Jose Rizal in his relentless campaign for reforms: "Without virtue there is no redemption."

Second, teach the continuing invitation to everyone to recognize and accept the authority of the Republic of the Philippines because we all belong to one nation with one aspiration.

Third, teach the continuing appeal to the private sector to help reform Philippine society because national growth is the vital concern of all.

Fourth, teach the continuing services in meeting with courage the rebellion of the poor as part of the national aspiration.

Fifth, teach the continuing synchronization of development activities as cardinal in promoting national welfare.

Sixth, teach the continuing dynamic flexibility or the capacity of the government to respond to the demand of circumstances to assure national progress.

Seventh, teach the continuing impetus in arousing civic conscience because it is very essential in national participatory democracy.

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WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE*

Ma. Minerva A. Gonzalez

The woman is an enigma, a bundle of contradictions. On one hand, she is a temptress, like Eve who lured Adam to sin, or meek, humble and kind-hearted like the Mother of Jesus. Scanning through the pages of history, she was courageous and fearless like Joan of Arc, Florence Nightingale, Indira Gandhi, and our very own Gabriela Silang and Melchora Aquino.

The article presents various Filipino women who figured prominently in the struggle for the country's independence. The article shows that women participated in the form of armed struggle and also in the economic, social and cultural fields as well.

*KEYWORDS: Ignacia del Espiritu Santo*Margarita Roxas de Ayala*Women of Malolos*Gregoria de Jesus*Marina Dizon*Melchora Aquino*Marcela Agoncillo* Rosa Sevilla*Trinidad Tecson*Librada Avelino*Sofia Reyes de Vera*Francisca Tirona Benitez*

- Presented at the PHA Annual Conference held at St. Mary's College, Quezon City on November 27-28, 1987; published in *Historical Bulletin* Vol. XXIX-XXX 1993-1994

The Filipino woman of pre-Spanish times was her brother's equal in the home, society and government. Like him, she could hold positions of honor and prestige. Born to a ruling class, she could succeed her father's rule. Born to less, she was still equal to her brother's inheritance. In marriage, her judgment was heeded, her person respected. A man referred to his wife as his "maybahay" --- meaning "the lady of the house" which reflects her equality with her husband, the lord and master of the house.

During the Spanish era, the Filipina was trained for motherhood or for religious life. Her education was primarily under the supervision of priests and nuns. It was not surprising, therefore, to find women of the time equaling virtue and piety with submissiveness.

Ignacia del Espiritu Santo

She founded the Congregation of the Religious of the Virgin Mary. It was a community of native women in a field which was exclusively for the Spaniards. She proved that Filipino women can also achieve what was then considered beyond their endowments.

Margarita Roxas de Ayala

She was a business woman and founder of the *Colegio de la Concordia*. She is recognized as the first woman philanthropist of the Philippines. A quick-witted woman, she succeeded in obtaining freedom for her father who was banished to Spain for his liberal leanings in advocating reforms in the country.

Sensitive to the educational needs and problems of the time, she arranged for the founding of a school for children. She donated her house in Paco, Manila for the establishment of the *Colegio de la Inmaculada Concepcion Concordia* in 1868. Gifted with business acumen, Margarita Roxas contributed to the economy of the country. Casa Ayala, her firm, was responsible

for the opening of the first coal mine in Pandan Creek, Naga and the establishment of the first alcohol distillery and refinery on a commercial basis.

Women of Malolos

Even as the Spanish Civil Code and the Code of Commerce curbed the Filipina's freedom of action and the exercise of her rights, on December 12, 1888 twenty-two young women of Malolos presented a petition to Governor General Valeriano Weyler asking that they be allowed to open a night school for the teaching of Spanish. Among them were Eugenia and Aurea Tanchangco, Guadalupe Reyes, the teacher, Alberta Ni Tangcoy, Teresa and Maria Tantoco, Mercedes, Agapita, Basilia, Paz and Feliciana Tiongson, Leoncia and Olympia Reyes, and Maria de los Reyes.

Inspired by the initiative of these well-to-do young women of Malolos, Marcelo del Pilar who was then in Barcelona told Jose Rizal the good news on February 22, 1889. Rizal sent a letter to the "Women of Malolos" advising them to do everything they can to follow his advice because it is they (the women) who can open the men's mind. Let me cite a few of these pieces of advice:

First, important indeed are the duties of what women must fulfill in order to relieve the country of her sufferings but they are not beyond the strength and character of the Filipino woman to perform.

Second, they must awaken and prepare the mind of every child for every good and desirable idea --- love of honor, sincere and firm in character, clear mind, clean conduct, noble action, love for one's fellowmen, and respect for God.

Third, they must teach their children to guard and love their honor, to love their native land, and perform their duties. They must repeatedly tell them to prefer death with honor to a life with dishonor.

Marcelo H. del Pilar also wrote to the "Women of Malolos" in 1889 and said:

It is your duty to improve your mind by means of study and to impart whatever knowledge you possess to your fellowmen who may need it. Do not forget that an uncultivated mind is like a beacon without light; instead of guiding mariners, it leads them to disaster. (Alzona 1964, 36-37)

Gregoria de Jesus

The failure of the Reform Movement gave birth to the Katipunan. It was founded by Andres Bonifacio, a man of little learning but with high intelligence. The Katipunan had three fundamental objectives which were political, moral and civic. The political aim was separation of the Philippines from Spain while the moral was the teaching of good manners, hygiene, good morals and attacking obscurantism, religious fanaticism and weakness of character. The civic aim revolved on the principle of self-help and the defense of the poor and the oppressed.

In mid-1893, Bonifacio opened the membership of the Katipunan to patriotic and scrupulous women who had the virtue of keeping secrets. The women recruits acted as fronts for the clandestine activities of their male counterparts. Prominent women of the community initiated were Josefa Rizal, president; Gregoria de Jesus, vice president; Marina Dizon, secretary; and Angelica Rizal-Lopez, fiscal. In particular, Gregoria de Jesus risked her life in keeping in her person many Katipunan documents, she being the wife of Bonifacio. She, together with Benita Rodriguez, was also responsible for sewing the first flag of the Katipunan consisting of a red rectangular piece of cloth with three white K's horizontally arranged at the center.

Gregoria was among the first women to be initiated to the Katipunan, with "Lakambini" as her code name. As the first secretary of the chapter, she was the custodian of revolutionary documents and the property of the society. She supervised the

activities of women-members and deciphered secret messages sent to and from the *Supremo* and the members. She became president in 1896.

When the Katipunan was discovered, Gregoria went into hiding with Bonifacio. They fled to the mountains, most often traveling under cover of darkness. When fighting broke out, she joined the men in the battlefield. She learned to ride on horseback and use the revolver and other weapons. She took care of the wounded soldiers and shared their hardships.

Marina Dizon

Like Gregoria de Jesus, as soon as the women's chapter was organized, Marina Dizon, cousin of Emilio Jacinto, became one of its active members. She was initiated in July 1893. She organized and supervised different projects for the women and helped raise funds to finance various revolutionary activities. She also presided over the initiation rites for women aspirants and acquainted them with the constitution and teachings of the Katipunan. Marina, with strong courage, always reminded her colleagues to give moral support to the men folk. She always reminded them to be "cheerful at all times with them, not to show fear of the impending rebellion and to be prepared to be left orphans and widows someday."

Melchora Aquino

On August 19, 1896 the Katipunan was discovered. With this discovery was no other alternative than to declare an open revolt. On August 24, the Revolution erupted at Pugad Lawin where the Katipuneros tore their *cedulas* shouting "Long Live the Philippines!" This took place at the yard of Juan A. Ramos, the son of Melchora Aquino who later came to be known as the "Mother of Balintawak" or the "Grand Old Woman of the Revolution."

"Tandang Sora" as we fondly call her was a woman of strong character. Among her virtues were courage, piety,

industry, patience, and a sense of nobility. She was past eighty during the Revolution. History shall bear us out if we describe her strong fighting spirit and concern for her countrymen despite her advanced age. At the time of the Revolution, she volunteered to help the Katipuneros. She provided them with food and shelter.

On August 29, 1896 she was caught by the Spaniards, taken prisoner and later, by the decree of Governor General Ramon Blanco on September 2, was exiled to Guam. She returned to the Philippines on February 26, 1903 and died on March 12, 1919 at the ripe old age of 107 years.

Marcela Agoncillo

On June 12, 1898 at about four thirty in the afternoon, the first Filipino flag was unfurled at the balcony of the Aguinaldo residence in Kawit, Cavite. This historic political symbol of the Filipino nation was the handiwork of Marcela Mariño de Agoncillo with the help of Delfina Herbosa de Natividad, a niece of Rizal, and her eldest daughter Lorenza.

Marcela Mariño of Taal, Batangas married Felipe Agoncillo, a prominent lawyer also from Batangas. Because of his daring criticisms of Spanish administration in the Philippines, he was subjected to persecution and harassment by the Spaniards. In 1895, the couple was forced to flee to Hong Kong. Their home at 535 Morrison Hill Road became a haven for Filipino leaders. It was here that Josephine Bracken, Rizal's widow, sought refuge and protection when she was threatened by the Spaniards for helping the revolutionaries. Mrs. Agoncillo herself on many occasions also joined the revolutionary forces in Cavite. She helped her husband in planning with the reformists the emancipation of the Philippines from Spain. She was a constant inspiration to her husband. Her words of encouragement kept the fire of his patriotism burning.

Rosa Sevilla

In the field of education and social work, standing out during the Revolution was Rosa Sevilla de Alvero. She was awarded by President Elpidio Quirino on July 4, 1948 a citation as "pioneer educator, indefatigable social worker, ardent lover of Filipinism, leader of the feminist movement, patriot."

During the Revolution in 1898, Rosa Sevilla rendered service to the country by ministering to the needs of the Filipino revolutionists, feeding them and visiting the trenches to treat and comfort the wounded. She became one of only two women staff members of *La Independencia*, the newspaper of the Revolution.

During the short period of peace which followed the occupation of Manila by the Americans, Rosa Sevilla put up a small private school. When hostilities between Filipinos and Americans erupted, she was forced to close her school and joined women in comforting Filipino soldiers in Lolomboy and encouraged them to fight to the end. When the Filipino forces retreated to the north, Rosa Sevilla upon the prodding of her father fought almost like a soldier.

On July 15, 1900 Rosa Sevilla established the Instituto de Mujeres with the motto "For God and Country." Convinced of the value of education for nation-building, she inspired her colleagues to educate Filipino women. A prolific writer, she served as editor of the women's page of *La Vanguardia* and prepared in collaboration with her son, Aurelio, the *Panitikan ng Wikang Pangbansa*. She also helped in the adoption of Tagalog as the national language and made it a part of the curriculum in the Instituto de Mujeres for which she gained the recognition of President Manuel L. Quezon.

In the fields of politics and social work, Rosa Sevilla co-founded the *Federacion Catolica de Mujeres* (Catholic Women's League) and campaigned for women suffrage. During the Japanese Occupation, President Jose P. Laurel appointed her member of the Women's Council to distribute food, clothes, etc.

to the poor victims of the war. And when the American Liberation forces came, she volunteered assistance to Dr. Fe del Mundo of the Children's City Hospital the PCAU No. 5 in ministering to the wounded and converted the building of the Instituto de Mujeres into a hospital.

Trinidad Tecson

Trinidad Perez Tecson (Mother of Biak-na-bato) was a woman of exceptional bravery. She fearlessly fought in twelve battles of the Revolution under five generals. She became a member of the women's section of the Katipunan in 1895 and the Logia de Adapcion, the Free Masonry's lodge for Filipinas. In the battlefield, she was dressed in the regular Katipunero outfit complete with a wide-brimmed hat, fighting side by side with the men, equally enduring the hardships they underwent. She distinguished herself with what we may term today as "agaw armas." In a description of her activities by her biographer Jovita Vargas de Guzman:

Trinidad went with three companions to the courthouse of Caloocan to seize some firearms. They succeeded in overpowering the Guardia Civil and carried away their guns. In another incident, she led a band of five men and captured seven firearms from the jail of San Isidro Nueva Ecija. (De Guzman 1967, 81-83)

She, her husband, Julian Alcantara and two servants, defended the entrance of the fort of Biak-na-bato against a strong force of Spaniards. They were successful in repelling the attack and the Spaniards failed to enter the fort. It is this last stand that earned her the honor of being called the "Mother of Biak-na-bato."

American Regime

The Treaty of Paris signed on December 10, 1898 sealed American sovereignty over the Philippines. It opened a new

horizon for the Filipina in the country's struggle for independence. The American regime brought about several reforms which gradually led to the social and political emancipation of the Filipina. The greatest achievement was in the field of education. The American ideals of democracy made the Filipina aware of her rights. The latter abandoned her Maria Clara timidity to strive for higher education and become full contributors to the country's development.

Librada Avelino

She was an educator who was convinced that the 3 R's were not enough education for girls. She introduced the concept of girls taking an active interest in the government. In founding the Centro Escolar de Señoritas, she emphasized the teaching of practical lessons in citizenship. (Aleta 1978, 16)

Sofia Reyes de Vera

She was one of the first Filipina teachers of English to teach in the public schools in 1902. She founded the feminist movement in the Philippines and agitated for feminine participation in government affairs. She was appointed chairman of the women's section of the Independence Congress in 1929. Having married Jaime C. de Veyra, Philippine Resident Commissioner to the United States from 1917 to 1923, she ably complimented her husband's work by delivering lectures to American audiences and writing articles about the Philippines.

Francisca Tirona Benitez

She founded the Philippine Women's University in 1919. She conceived it as an exclusive girl's school for higher education. She planned it as a boarding school --- a combination of the Instituto de Mujeres and the Philippine Normal School Dormitory. In 1921, she evolved a philosophy of education that combined the art of homemaking with a career while actively fulfilling her social and civic responsibilities.

Women Suffrage

In politics and government as well as in business and agriculture, our college women graduates were not given a chance to prove themselves during the first two decades of the American occupation of the country. It was only after the grant of suffrage in 1937 that they were given the real break.

The fight of Filipino women for the right of suffrage was a long up-hill struggle. It started as early as 1909 when *Filipinas*, the first local magazine devoted entirely to the interest of women, issued the first call for women to participate in politics. Edited by Constancia Poblete, its objectives were:

To fulfill our duty towards the members of our sex, at the same to re-vindicate the rights of women not only socially but politically as well

To consecrate ourselves completely to the education and culture of the Filipina, to work with courage to achieve equality with the members of the stronger sex, and to take an active part in matters affecting the management of the government of our country

In their fight for suffrage, the women-leaders worked for political candidates sympathetic to their cause although they worked openly for the pro-independence Nacionalista Party.

National Federation of Women's Clubs

In October 1918 the first concerted move on the issue of women suffrage was staged by Concepcion Felix-Rodriguez, Pura V. Kalaw, Rosa Sevilla de Alvero, Rosario Lam, Encarnacion Alzona and Natividad Almeda-Lopez. They defended their cause in the pre-hearing meeting. In 1921, the women resolved to organize themselves into a *National Federation of Women's Clubs* which became the vanguard of a more successful suffrage movement from 1921 to 1937. The Federation voiced its feminist sentiments through its official

organ *Women's Outlook* edited by Trinidad Fernandez Legarda (English Section) and Pura V. Kalaw (Spanish Section). (Tarosa 1955)

On September 30, 1936 Commonwealth Act No. 23 was signed by the President of the Philippines into law. It prescribed the method of registration of women voters and the plebiscite date set on April 30, 1937.

Well before the plebiscite day, women leaders campaigned hard for the cause of suffrage. They campaigned through house to house appeals, speaking tours, posters, student rallies, distribution of sample ballots and informative lectures. Most active in the campaign were the women's clubs in every province headed by Natividad Almada-Lopez, Josefa Jara Martinez, Pilar Hidalgo Lim, Concepcion Felix-Rodriguez, Geronima Tomeldan Pecson, Corazon Torres, Josefa Llanes Escoda, Rosario Acuña de Picozo in Capiz, Tarhata Kiram in Sulu and Maria Magsano in Pangasinan.

The result of the plebiscite was an overwhelming victory for the Filipina. Out of the 500,000 women who registered, 447,725 voted "yes." In September 1937 the National Assembly ratified the results and the new election law signed by President Manuel L. Quezon on September 15, 1937 extended the right to suffrage to both male and female Filipino citizens, 21 years of age or over, who can read and write, unless otherwise disqualified by law. The fight was over. The Filipino woman won the right to vote and be voted upon.

Conclusion

The participation of our women in the struggle for independence can never be under estimated. By engaging in the field of education, the Filipino woman set a good example worthy of emulation by all. They were inspired by Rizal who said that:

Women should be enlightened, their minds cultivated, their reason developed ... for if women remained ignorant, the entire nation would not rise from slavery, from colonialism.

Everyone knows the power of the Filipino woman. As a mother, she nurtures the young minds of her children. As a wife, she inspires her husband with lofty ideas, encourages him to be brave, shares his troubles and comforts him in affliction. When her home and her children are threatened by some peril, you will see the same woman, so feminine, aiding and saving the defenders of the fatherland. She has always proven herself equal to any challenge.

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THE CHANGING STRATEGY FOR NATIONAL SURVIVAL DURING THE COMMISSION ERA, 1902-1916*

Bonifacio S. Salamanca

The American tenure in the Philippines turned out to be a "half-century of compromise," of accommodation between Philippine nationalism and American imperialism. The essence of that compromise was to seek the triumph of nationalism by working for independence through pacific means.

Even as they were co-opted into the colonial regime, the Filipino leadership did not abandon the goal of nationalism. Through formal and informal channels, they labored to secure from the United States a declaration that it intended to recognize Philippine independence. The article discusses how this goal was accomplished during the era of the Philippine Commission from 1901 to 1916.

KEYWORDS: *Taft/Philippine Commission*Philippine Organic Act*Independence*Federal Party*Partido Progresista*Partido Nacionalista*Resident Commissioner*Manuel Quezon*Sergio Osmeña*

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Early American policy regarding the future status of the Philippines was first officially expressed in the Philippine Organic Act of July 1902 although it was indicated as early as December 1898 when President William McKinley instructed General Elwell Otis to follow a policy of "benevolent assimilation." This policy was further refined in the famous Letter of Instructions of April 7, 1909 to the Second, or Taft, Philippine Commission and expanded in the Philippine Organic Act of 1902: its goal was the progressive extension of self-government to the Filipinos as they become better qualified to accept and discharge the responsibility. This policy, which remained unchanged until the Jones Law of 1916, did not promise independence although William Howard Taft, the first American civil governor, himself admitted that "it necessarily involves in its conclusion ... the ultimate independence" of the Philippines.

Theodore Roosevelt, who succeeded McKinley upon the latter's assassination in 1901, was favorably inclined toward Philippine independence from the onset of American rule but he did not reveal this attitude officially until 1908. Even then he did so in a carefully guarded way, and only because he thought that independence was the logical course set for the Filipinos, though not promised to them by the Organic Act of 1902.

What is interesting to point out is that both Roosevelt and Taft favored ultimate independence as the culmination of American policy, yet neither of them came out for it unequivocally and explicitly. Their reason was that it would be less than useful to the Filipino leaders of the early American period to be promised an independence which they had no chance of enjoying in their lifetime; after all, Roosevelt and Taft had on several occasions affirmed that it would take a generation, possibly two, to prepare the Filipinos for self-government. In the circumstances, Roosevelt and Taft felt that any promise of independence would only result in needless agitation for its immediate fulfillment.

We shall now turn to the Filipinos' campaign to change this American policy of uncertainty to one of definite commitment to independence.

Curiously enough, the first organized group of co-opted nationalists, the members of the Federal Party, did not at first demand independence; on the contrary, they proposed that the Philippines be admitted to the American Union. This impractical program, however, would be repudiated in subsequent local elections such that in 1904 the Federal Party sought to change its program from statehood to independence; this became the party's official goal in 1905. Since it was now anomalous to continue with the original name, the members of the Federal Party would also change their party label to that of Partido Progresista; this they did in 1907. A complete turnabout would be accomplished in 1910 when Benito Legarda would join Manuel L. Quezon in addressing a long letter-memorial to the American Secretary of War recommending, among others, that the United States immediately declare its intention to recognize Philippine independence.

Within a decade, therefore, the strongest advocates of cooperation with the American colonial regime would completely alter their impractical program of statehood to a demand for Philippine independence. Taft, who had nurtured the Party while Governor in the Philippines and Secretary of War under President Theodore Roosevelt and was President of the United States at the time, must have been jolted at the political somersault of the one-time Federalistas.

From the very day of its formal establishment in 1907, the Nacionalista Party had always advocated not only independence but also "immediate" independence. In control of the Philippine Assembly from its inception in 1907, the Nacionalistas would see to it that at the end of each Assembly session, a resolution was adopted unanimously, praying that the United States immediately declare its official policy towards the Philippines and that the policy should be none other than independence, the sooner granted the better.

Complementing the advocacy of independence through party platforms and resolutions and annual Assembly petitions to the American government, the Filipino nationalists also made abundant use of newspapers and such other media of communication as novels and theatrical plays. Thus, in its issue of September 22, 1910 *El Ideal*, a Nacionalista organ, characterized American policy of withholding a definite promise of independence "a vicious policy," adding that even if such a promise were made with a specific date for its redemption such a promise would no longer suffice since independence "is considered necessary now." Novels and theatrical plays such as *Banaag at Sikat*, *Pinaglaruan*, and *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* were also published and staged.

Ten thousand miles away, in Washington D.C. and in other parts of the United States, the sentiments of Filipinos for independence were brought much closer to American decision makers and their constituents by the Filipino Resident Commissioners. Although they were not entitled to vote, the Resident Commissioners were free to participate in the discussions on crucial bills affecting the Philippines in the House of Representatives of the American Congress. Of the Resident Commissioners during the Commission Era, Quezon easily stands out as the most ardent and active advocate of Philippine independence. It was he who drafted the first Jones Bill in 1912; and more than any other Filipino, he could claim that he had a hand in securing the passage of the Jones Law in 1916, the law through which the United States eventually promised to grant Philippine independence upon the establishment of a stable government here.

With the enactment of the Jones Law, the Commission Era came to an end. In just over a dozen years, American policy of indefinite retention had been superseded by a policy of independence. The Filipino nationalists of the Era, regardless of party affiliation, could well claim a large share of the credit for this far-reaching development. That this was accomplished without violent confrontation with the United States makes the

strategy and tactic of the Filipino nationalists all the more impressive.

Was it really that impressive?

I raise this question or doubt with some hesitation because I have no desire to tarnish a magnificent accomplishment. But historical study must seek the truth, however elusive and unsavory it might be.

To go straight to the point: there are records which suggest that their public advocacy of independence notwithstanding, many, if not most, of the Filipino leaders --- including Quezon and Osmeña --- held private or personal views to the contrary.

To advance such a view, especially with reference to Quezon and Osmeña, would seem to be iconoclasm of the first order: the careers of these Filipino statesmen --- before, during, and long after the Commission Era --- were devoted to the cause of Philippine freedom. Certainly, their records of public service would appear to be much more convincing evidence of their real sentiments on the question of Philippine independence than all the letters or memoranda indicating that they may have believed otherwise. But records there are, and the ones I have consulted lead me to suspect that some time in their careers, Quezon and Osmeña believed that independence, particularly immediate independence, was not in the best interest of the Philippines.

In attempting to show that Quezon and Osmeña were against Philippine independence, at least during the Commission Era, I am by no means doing so with the intention of questioning their credentials as patriots or nationalists, or of denting their images as venerable statesmen. I am undertaking the exercise simply in the interest of truth which, I repeat, the student of history must seek. For unlike in other fields, where to tell the truth may be only the best policy, in history it is the only policy.

The documentary evidence in support of this "revisionist" view is quite abundant, at least, in American archival and manuscript collections. The ones I shall now cite constitute only a small portion thereof.

Writing to a close relative in 1907 sometime prior to the elections for the Philippine Assembly, William Cameron Forbes, then Vice Governor-General, said:

The most prominent leaders in what is called the Nationalists ... are... very particular friends of mine, and I have asked them what their idea is in case they win --- whether they are going to make any move to get independence --- and they practically admitted to me that it was really a catch way of getting votes, that what they wanted was office, not independence. (Salamanca 1968)

Almost ten years later, at the height of the discussion on the final Jones Bill in 1916, Forbes wrote ex-President Roosevelt that he knew only "too well the feeling of the Filipinos toward independence to be very greatly impressed by their demand for it." He went on to assert that "the politicians who howl loudest don't want it and have so told me" but that they howled just the same "because it is a vote-getter." After stating that Quezon had been working secretly in Washington against independence (about which more will be said presently), Forbes went on to describe what had happened the day he left the Philippine governorship in 1913:

No less a person than the Speaker of the Assembly (i.e., Osmeña) told me that the Filipinos wanted independence only while it seemed to be getting farther off and the minute that it began to get near they would begin to get very much frightened.

Forbes's assertion is corroborated by confidential memoranda of Quezon's conversations with the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs (Frank McIntyre) in the War Department in December 1913 and January 1914:

He (Quezon) said that he was prepared to advocate a new organic act (which) would settle the question of relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States for at least 25 years.... He said that there would perhaps be a little more difficulty in getting an agreement to this now than there would have been a few years ago, in that independence now had acquired an attractive sound to the ear of the Filipinos.

He expressed his fears of independence in the near future, having his fears largely on the conduct of Japan.... He said, however, that before he could advocate anything short of independence or short of what he had been taking heretofore, he would like to feel that it would meet the approval of the administration....

I asked him if he had explained this view to Mr. Osmeña. He said that he had and that he thought Osmeña would be all right.

I asked him if he had spoken of it to Governor Harrison. He said, My God, no. I think he believes in independence. He thinks he can turn us loose in about four years. (McIntyre 1913)

In a later memorandum, McIntyre wrote as follows of their conversations in early January 1914:

He (Quezon) said that he had seen Mr. Jones in Baltimore and subsequently here (Washington D.C.) and that Mr. Jones told him that he was preparing a bill which would grant absolute independence to the Philippines within three years, and that he was afraid that he had impressed Mr. Jones unfavorably in standing out against that. (McIntyre 1914)

It may be inferred from the above that what the Filipino leaders desired was not immediate independence, if ever, but rather an authoritative declaration that the United States should ultimately recognize Philippine independence and accompany

this declaration with the bestowal of more substantive powers to the Philippine government composed almost entirely of Filipinos. In a nutshell: *Autonomía, sí; Independencia, no.*

How may one explain this attitude on the part of the nationalistic elite?

It may be advanced as a general statement that they were entirely willing to sacrifice "immediate" independence, if not independence itself, to some indeterminate future date because most of their aspirations were being realized under American rule. Looking back at the demands of the Propagandists before the Revolution, we see that the elite in general desired the following: status and the protection of their economic interests; the grant of civil liberties; the separation of Church and State, or at least the expulsion of the friars and the confiscation of their vast estates; and the reform of the bureaucracy to make it a more efficient instrument for the promotion of certain goals, viz., better educational facilities, better roads, etc. Obviously, these aspirations meant that the elite would have a controlling voice in the government. However, independence was not one of their aspirations, nor was it originally contemplated as a means to an end.

The American regime accommodated many of the demands of the elite. A secular government was established in which they were accorded a greater role than in any other colonial regime in Asia. A modern civil service system was also set up. Furthermore, the American regime devoted itself to the social and, to a lesser extent, the material progress of the country. The friar lands were acquired and the vast public lands were practically reserved for the Filipinos.

Most important of all, free trade, which had been inaugurated on a limited basis in 1909 and made completely free in 1913, had not only increased the revenues of the government but also brought about a tremendous expansion of the sugar and tobacco industries; the nationalist elite profited immensely from such an expansion. While it can be argued that a great many of

these goals could have been attained under an independent republic, the elite entertained no illusion that free trade would probably cease immediately upon the grant of independence.

I have come to the end of my assignment. The Commission Era presented a challenge to Philippine nationalism that was different from the frontal and brutal assault during the Philippine Revolution and the Philippine-American War. But it was a challenge that was no less dangerous to Philippine nationalism; indeed, it almost obliterated the Filipinos' desire for independence. The Filipino elite of the period adjusted to the altered environment with an ambivalence that confused both their followers and adversaries. Happily, future events came to their rescue and rehabilitated their posture as the leaders in the Filipino nationalist movement.

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THE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL CHARACTER OF THE FILIPINO: A REASSESSMENT*

Filipinas E. Pineda

More than any other leader and writer of his time, Jose Rizal placed a heavy stress on moral and spiritual character as a tool for nation-building. In his literary works, speeches and conversations with his colleagues, remarkable ideas and exhortations on the Filipino character abound for Rizal was a writer with a purpose, a writer with a mission.

The article follows the step repeatedly taken by Rizal during his lifetime, assessing what Filipinos have done and what they have chosen not to do, objectively analyzing their negative traits with the aim of shaking off the lethargy to which they had gone deeper through the years of colonial subservience.

KEYWORDS: *Positive and Negative Filipino Character Traits*Decalogo*Kartilya*El Verdadero Decalogo*Civic and Ethics Code*

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The existence of remarkable traits among the pre-colonial Filipinos cannot be denied. Early Spanish chronicles and writers left ample historical records to support this.

Mention is made of our character in many of the early documents. The Instructions of the Royal *Audiencia* of Mexico to Miguel Lopez de Legazpi partly reads:

You will be very careful that nobody vex and offend them, rather, treat them with great prudence as a people of great dignity, as it is being told that they are a people of reason and pride.

Take note that The natives of the islands referred to are wise and they have great rulers. (Filipiniana Book Guild Editorial Board 1965, 20, 25)

Much earlier, Pigafetta, who came with Magellan, noted the courtesy and kindness of the people of Samar. On the people of Cebu, he commented:

... those people live in accordance with justice. They love peace, ease and quiet. (Pigafetta 1969, 20)

That the rulers were strict but just, that the people were courteous, kind and peace-loving were observed by the conquerors. That they were clean and neat was noted by Antonio de Morga in his *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* published in 1609. More noteworthy was his having singled out dignity and self-respect as traits of the first order. (De Morga 1962, 247)

Both Loarca and Chirino mention virtues like bravery, chivalry, courtesy and cleanliness as outstandingly treasured by our forefathers. The latter wrote:

They are most diligent in washing and cleaning their teeth many times after eating (Chirino 1969, 239)

He further observed that the people bathed often and pointed out the rather interesting habit of washing their feet as they entered their houses which:

... they do with great ease by rubbing one foot against the other, the water pouring down through the floor of the house. (Chirino 1969, 258)

That they are polite and courteous is also recorded by Chirino who wrote:

... in their actions (the Filipinos) are not as ceremonious as the Chinese and Japanese, but they have their civilities and good manners and especially the Tagalogs who in word and in deeds are very courteous and polite. (Chirino 1969, 279)

They sit on the ground and bend and uncover their heads and place their *potong* over their left shoulder like a towel in front of persons they respect. But the best manners are in their speech, for they never address one as you, nor in the second but always in the third person.

Rizal lamented the fact that many of the virtues treasured by our forefathers, the traits by which they lived, the good manners that did not slip the observant eye of the conquerors, were ebbing down, if not totally losing their meaning in the 19th century Filipino. Hence, he sounded the call, the call to look back and to look deeper into the character of the people. Rizal is not a moral philosopher but in the attainment of his mission reference to mortality is constantly seen. The words and actions of the characters in his novels carried a substantial message on the subject. His severe appraisal of his countrymen's defects was a basic step in reaching the goal he had set for the country. While keen in pointing out the mistakes of the rulers, yet he did not spare his people --- for they, too, through the weakness of their character, are partly to blame. That the rulers are tyrants because they allowed themselves to become slaves is something he reminded them about, thus pointing out their share in creating the condition they were in.

Making reference to the steamer "Tabo" in *El Filibusterismo*, he saw that "the placement of its passengers suggests the actual position in the social order of the oppressed and the oppressors (Romero and Sta. Romana 1969, 99) This indeed is an order partly caused by the people's weakness.

Historical circumstances subjected us to a test. Weakening of some traits and strengthening of others came about. Abuses of the religious and the Guardia Civil, corruption in the civil government and in the officialdom were to cause a dent in the psyche of the oppressed. What has derision and contempt done to our dignity and self-pride? We were called lazy and ungrateful. Fr. Damaso laughs at our desire to get educated, saying:

You know what the native's like. Let him learn a few letters and he passes himself off as a doctor. All these chaps go off to Europe without having to wipe their noses. (Romero and Sta. Romana 1969, 100)

A defective political organization is seen in Tasio's statement:

The government itself sees nothing, hears nothing, and decides nothing except what the parish priest or the head of a religious order makes it see, hear or decide. (Romero and Sta. Romana 1969, 151)

Upon his return to the Philippines, Ibarra was given a classic feedback on corruption in the officialdom:

... the continual changes in the administration, demoralization in high places, favoritism, combined with the cheaper fares and shorter trip out here since the Suez Canal was opened, are to blame for everything; the worst elements of the Peninsula come here, and if a good man comes, he is soon corrupted by the present condition of the country. (Romero and Sta. Romana 1969, 103)

Elias further elaborates on the Philippine picture when he says:

Ask any honest citizen if he looks upon the Guardia Civil as a good thing, as a means of protection furnished by the Government, and not as an imposition, a despotism whose excesses are more harmful than the depredation of outlaws. (Romero and Sta. Romana 1969, 105)

What would all these mean to Filipino values? While Rizal sympathized with his countrymen in the light of these conditions, he nonetheless pointed out their share in bringing them about: "Superstition and hypocritical fanaticism of any who consider themselves religious people, the ignorance and corruption of the Filipino civil guards, the passion for gambling unchecked by the thought of duty and responsibility, the servility of wealthy Filipinos towards friars and government officials, the ridiculous effort of Filipinos to disassociate themselves from their fellow countrymen or to lord it over them" were signs of weakness in their character which Rizal exhorted them to overcome. He extolled the virtues and exemplary qualities of our fathers: hospitality, modesty and devotion of the Filipina, devotion of parents to their children and children to their parents, and a deep sense of gratitude. He emphasized that for them to make a head way towards change, they must first be enlightened and virtuous.

He pointed out the fact that the Filipino of his time was individualistic. This to him was an obstacle to national consciousness. In a letter to Mariano Ponce, he says:

The lack of national sentiment breeds another evil which is the scarcity of any opposition to the measures that are prejudicial to the people and the absence of national welfare. A man in the Philippines is an individual; he is not a member of a nation. (Rizal 1973, 187)

Referring to his fellow students in Madrid in a letter to his parents, he points out: "But these young Filipinos were getting lost because of lack of unity and due to excessive individualism. (Rizal 1964, 262)

One positive trait, however, that had weathered historical circumstances and may be sharpened by them is gratitude.

At the start of colonization, several chieftains received the *conquistadores* well and many of the *datus* looked at them as allies. And through the years, while sporadic regional units flared up, still, many chose to remain loyal to their Spanish masters. For in spite of discontent and miseries, the reasons for which are understandably many, the people were aware of the benefits they got from the rulers. We cannot deny the changes in their life and the good they got from these rulers --- better homes to begin with; better clothing, roads, bridges, towns, cities, education, no matter how limited; benefits in agriculture, industry and trade, again no matter how limited. These and all that Christianity has taught them or has improved on what they already had earlier; perseverance and patience, solidarity of the family, and respect had caused the root of our *utang na loob* complex to sink deeper into the social values of the Filipinos.

This root was to sink further in thanking the next colonizing power for giving us what was denied us by the first -- individual rights and all the facets of democracy as a way of life.

On the other hand, historical circumstances were to bring about a negative trait --- dislike for manual labor; the Filipino rebelled at the thought of having been made to work because he was a native within the framework of a master-slave relationship. He began to look at labor with disdain.

And under the next colonizing power, the kind of education he got attracted him to the city and led him to abandon the barrio. Course offerings and the curricula worked towards white-collar vocations. Education seemed to be adequate if it

gave one all the conveniences of a materialistic civilization. To earn a living without soiling one's shirt or dirtying his hands is the reward of a "good education." Such values encouraged us to appreciate things we did not produce, to look down on what is ours and to develop a mentality that is basically colonial. The feeling of inferiority seeps in and which ultimately invites exploitation.

During the Japanese Occupation, our negative traits, the *bahala na*, *matira ang matibay* and *baka makalusot* attitudes came to fore. For this was a period for new values to spring up. But did they end with the period? The moral corruption and lawlessness at the end of the war tell us they did not. The exigency of the time that brought them about and the more difficult task of readjustment in the years that followed resulted in the breakdown of national discipline --- for the people had been deprived of comfort for so long.

At various times in our history, other leaders had seen the futility of national strength in the absence of a strong moral and spiritual character. Exhortations to strive at the virtues we should possess as a people came in various forms and in many literary works. Thus we see in Mabini's *Decalogue* the concluding paragraph of which runs:

Therefore, as long as national frontiers subsist, raised and maintained by the selfishness of race and of family, with thy countrymen alone shalt then unite in a perfect solidarity of purpose and interest in order to have force, not only to resist the common enemy but also to attain all the aims of human life. (Mabini 1975)

In his *Decalogue*, Andres Bonifacio calls for love of God, love of self and fellowmen, sense of duty and responsibility. "Diligence in the work that gives sustenance to thee is the true basis of love --- love for thine own self, for thine wife and children, for thine brothers and countrymen."

Emilio Jacinto's *Kartilya nang Katipunan* echoed the need to be virtuous. One of the teachings runs thus:

He whose sentiments are noble prefers honor to personal aggrandizement, he whose sentiments are perverse prefers personal desire to honor.

President Manuel Luis Quezon sounded an urgent call for rebuilding our national spirit by issuing his "Civics and Ethics Code." Ethical principles specified are faith in Divine Providence, love of country, love and respect of parents, honor, truth, honesty, diligence and civil consciousness. Stressing the role of character formation, to be able to move forward, he says:

National strength can only be built on character. A nation is nothing more or less than its citizenry. It is the people that make up the nation, and therefore, it cannot be stronger than its component parts. Their weakness is its failings, their strength its power. (Quezon 1975)

Less than a decade later, President Jose P. Laurel issued his "Filipino Civil Code." Virtues prominently listed are patriotism, industry, respect, reverence, sportsmanship, humility, self-reliance, self-control and frugality.

At the midst of the most trying post-war period, when moral degeneration had started to surface, President Ramon Magsaysay came up with his "Credo" which, among other things, states:

... a high and unwavering sense of morality should pervade all spheres of governmental activity.

Today, in our quest for greatness, President Marcos has on numerous occasions re-echoed this Quezonian realism:

Show me a people composed of vigorous, sturdy individuals, of men and women healthy in mind and body; courageous, brave, industrious, self-reliant, purposeful in thought as well as in action; imbued

with sound patriotism and profound sense of righteousness, with social ideals and a strong moral fiber; and I will show you a great nation. (Quezon 1975)

Native virtues are part of our moral heritage. That proverbs on these virtues are treasured by us and are seen in various regional groups prove that a strong moral fiber still exists in spite of the fast changing world around us. Some proverbs worth remembering are:

On Honesty and Integrity

Ang taong bulaan, kapatid ng magnanakaw
Masira man sa pamimilak, huwag sa pangungusap

On Courtesy and Kindness

Di man magmana ng ari, magmana ng ugali

On Industry and Perseverance

Matalas man ang tabak, mapurol kung nakasakbat
Ang hipong tulog, tinatangay ng agos
Ang di magtiis, magbata; di magkakamit ng ginhawa

On Courage

Ang di magsapalaran, di makatatawid ng karagatan

On Modesty

Ang mapagparangalan ng kanyang kagalingan, likab ang kinakamtan

On Family Solidarity

Ang sakit ng kalingkingan, damdam ng buong katawan

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AMERICA'S COLONIAL DESK AND THE PHILIPPINES 1898-1934*

Romeo V. Cruz

Immediately upon the acquisition of the former Spanish possessions, certain questions arose. What agency should govern the new territories? How should these territories be governed? What was the legal status of the new territories with respect to continental America and the American system? These questions came about because the constitution of the United States did not make provisions regarding the maintenance of colonies.

The American system, however, showed flexibility and capacity for adjustment according to the exigencies of the situation. America established what served as her colonial desk -- the Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) in the War Department. The article discusses the role played by the BIA in relation to the Philippines as an American dependency from 1898-1934.

*KEYWORDS: Bureau of Insular Affairs*U.S. War Department*U.S. State Department*Elihu Root*John Hay* Philippine Autonomy Act*Jones Law*

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Establishment of the Bureau of Insular Affairs

The triggering factor that led to the creation of the Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) was the Cuban occupation. In Cuba, the American Army found itself assuming the not too familiar role of soldier-civil servants. The absence of any official agency in Washington which had experience in governing peoples and territories proved to be a handicap. Knowledge gained in the control of Indian Affairs or in the supervision of territorial government in continental United States proved of little value. Hence, after the fall of Santiago, Cuba in August 1898, when non-military matters started swamping the War Department, especially those dealing with customs duties, nobody knew how to deal with them. At first, the papers pertaining to customs revenues went to the Adjutant General for presentation to the Secretary of War. On August 23, 1898 the Secretary of War issued a directive referring matters relating to tariff duties and taxes to the Assistant Secretary for his consideration and report.

The need for a separate office was felt as the volume of business increased and the time approached for the transfer of Cuba and the anticipated control of Puerto Rico by 1898. Thus, on December 13, 1898 the Acting Secretary of War George Meiklejohn ordered the creation of the Division of Customs and Insular Affairs. The new Division was charged with all papers relating to the customs revenues as well as civil affairs of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines for final disposition. From 1898 to 1902 several changes took place. The first head of the Division, Mr. Robert E. Parker, was replaced by Captain John J. Pershing on March 19, 1899. The latter continued to serve until, at his own request, he was transferred to the Philippine Service six months later. A chief clerk of the Division took over from August 29, 1899 to February 10, 1900 on which date Clarence R. Edwards, a member of General Henry Lawton's staff in the Philippines, took over as the new head. Previous to this date, the office of law officer was created in early 1900 with Charles E. Magoon, later Governor of the Panama Canal Zone, as the first to fill the office in order to assist the judge-advocate who was

over burdened with legal military matters. The changes in the office were not only in structure and personnel but also spatial.

As matters pertaining to customs collection became overshadowed by "insular affairs," Secretary Elihu Root who became head of the War Department in 1899 ordered on December 10, 1900 that the Division of Customs and Insular Affairs be charged with "all matters pertaining to the civil affairs connected with the governments of Cuba and the Philippine Islands, as distinguished from matters of a purely military character." A new name, Division of Insular Affairs, was also given to the office.

Because the "dyarchical" or dual government established in the Philippines demanded supervision and authority of one department, Secretary Root decided to place both sets of officials under the control of the office of the Secretary of War. In his letter to Secretary of State John Hay, a possible rival in the control of insular affairs, Root stated the difficulty of the Philippine arrangement. "Man," Root said, "both civil and military, is such a jealous and pernickety animal." The Secretary of War, however, hoped that the "unstable equilibrium" would be over and the whole Philippine business would be under civilian control according to the "nearest approach we can make to a Department of Colonial Affairs.

Though it might be true yet that Root wanted the Division to be temporary, one could not help but cast doubt about his sincerity regarding the release of the Philippine administration from the department he headed. Several opportunities presented themselves to test Root's motives and rather than release the Philippines, he strengthened the hold of his Department over the government of the Islands. First, there was the instruction of McKinley to the Schurman Commission on January 20, 1899 to report directly to Secretary John Hay their findings and recommendations regarding Philippine conditions. This implied that McKinley had wanted a colonial office in the State Department. In addition to McKinley's letter to Hay expressing intention to organize a Bureau of Insular

Affairs under the State Department, there was also the testimony of Hay regarding McKinley's approval of the final plans to set up the new office. All these clearly showed that the president was willing to push the plan through. He even had in mind the appointment of Charles B. Allen, governor of Puerto Rico, director or head of the colonial bureau. Root, rather than follow his chief, continued his "temporary arrangement." This became clear when, under his auspices, the Second Philippine Commission headed by William Howard Taft, instead of reporting to Hay like the Schurman Commission, was directed to report to the War Department. The so-called McKinley Instructions of April 7, 1900 to the Taft Commission were authored by Root was one jump ahead of the President and Secretary Hay.

Likewise, another opportunity to make good Hay's intention to organize a colonial department or to place the insular dependencies under the State Department came in 1901 when Filipino armed resistance was reduced to a minimum with the capture of Emilio Aguinaldo. Nothing was done although Root was in a position to manipulate the executive policy in like manner that he manipulated that policy with his shrewd move in 1900. Instead he drafted, together with Taft, the Philippine Autonomy Act (Cooper Act) which Congress passed on July 1, 1902.

The Philippine Autonomy Act of 1902 was a Root legal masterpiece. He succeeded in making Congress ratify all actions of the President in the organization of the Philippine government and, most importantly, in giving official recognition to the Division of Insular Affairs, which was assigned "all matters pertaining to civil government in the island possessions of the United States subject to the jurisdiction of the War Department...."

By this act, therefore, the Division, now called the Bureau of Insular Affairs, was given legal status as a virtual colonial desk despite its lack of well-defined powers. From another angle it seemed that the Bureau as shaped by Root and

Edwards was organized in anticipation of the eventuality that it would become a central office charged with administering the affairs of non-contiguous territories. This was never realized but within the short-range objectives of Elihu Root, the BIA had served its purpose. Throughout its existence, the administration of the civil government of the Philippines was the only function exercised continuously by this office. Indeed, it became America's version of a colonial desk.

The wonder was not that the BIA, functioning as a "civilian office," remained in the War Department for so long, but that this state of affairs was allowed to last for more than thirty years when the rationale of the early years was no longer valid. The office was ambiguous in character and its authority remained ill-defined throughout its lifetime. There was also an absence of precise definition of the relations between the Philippine Insular Government and the Bureau. Yet amazingly, the BIA was continued under the so-called Jones Law of 1916. The Law did not include any provision for the Bureau of Insular Affairs. In keeping with the temper of Congress and the spirit of the Law it passed, the absence of any direct provision could have meant the end of the Bureau. But the Bureau displayed an inner strength. Just as the Republicans gave the Bureau legislative sanction, so the Democrats bestowed upon it their executive approval. By order of President Woodrow Wilson, all reports from the government of the Philippines and all matters pertaining to the same were placed under the BIA.

Threats to the Bureau's life continued but under the Republican administration, it functioned and assumed responsibilities according to the discretion of the Secretary of War and the chief of the Bureau. But by the early 1930's the Bureau's days were numbered. Under the predominantly Democratic Congress, resolutions were passed in 1930 and 1931 directing the President to reorganize the administration of insular affairs whenever he deemed public interest demanded such a change. Finally, Franklin D. Roosevelt directed the establishment of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions in the Department of Interior and transferred the

administration of the government of Puerto Rico from the War Department to the new Division. This move gave the opening wedge for the removal of the administration of the Philippines from the War Department to a civilian department and from an army officer to a qualified civil servant. Added to this fact was the passage of the Philippine Independence Act in 1934. Thus no longer could the Bureau substantially influence the destiny of the Islands which it had done in the past.

Organization and Personnel

The Bureau of Insular Affairs, before it became such, had the following branches: Correspondence, Records, Accounting and Statistics, Compilation and Translation, Law Officer and Chief of the Division. Due to increasing volume of work, an assistant chief drawn from the army rank was added. Two more branches were added in 1902: the Map Branch and the Philippine Insurgent Records Branch. With slight changes like adding two or three more assistant posts to the chief of the Bureau and the addition of another branch, the Bureau of Insular Affairs retained the organizational framework it had since 1900.

Many members of the staff were civilians, especially those occupying the subordinate positions. The headship of the various branches was under a mixed group of civilians and army men. The three key positions were chief, assistant chief, and law officer. Civilians occupied the post of law officer. This post was occupied by five individuals for about twenty years with an average tenure of four years: Charles E. Magoon, Paul Charlton, Felix Frankfurter, Louis W. Call, and William W. Lemmond.

Military men headed the Bureau as chief and assistant chief. They were naturally in a position to influence the course of insular affairs more than any civilian in the office with the singular exception of their superior, the Secretary of War. Nevertheless, the superiority of the military over the civilian in matters of influencing policy was maintained throughout the lifetime of the Bureau. One reason for this was the longer tenure of office of the military as compared with that of the civilian

secretaries. From 1898 to 1939, there were thirteen Secretaries of War (Elihu Root, William H. Taft, Luke E. Wright, Jacob M. Dickinson, Henry L. Stimson, Lindley M. Garrison, Newton D. Baker, John W. Weeks, Dwight F. Davis, James W. Good, Patrick H. Hurley, George H. Dern, and Harry N. Woodring) as compared with only eight heads of the Bureau (Robert E. Parker, John J. Pershing, Alexander Speel, Clarence R. Edwards, Frank McIntyre, Francis Lejau Parker, Greed F. Cox, and Charles Burnett). The first three served for a few months and were, therefore, quite negligible. Parker served in acting capacity for less than three months, Pershing for less than five, and Speel, again in an acting capacity, for less than six. From 1900 to 1939 army men (e.g. Edwards) headed the Bureau with an average tenure of seven years and eight months.

Of the Bureau heads, the combined "reign" of two men amounted to twenty-nine years. These are Clarence R. Edwards, whose tenure started in 1900 and ended in 1912, and Frank McIntyre who except for brief intervals held that office from 1912 to 1929. With this fact, continuity of colonial policies was assured irrespective of the political color of the Secretaries. Another reason was the fact that the Secretary, being a political appointee, was usually inexperienced and uninformed about colonial affairs. The Chief of the Bureau, being protected by a built-in system like the institution of the "tour-of-duty" which assured him tenure for four years --- during McIntyre's time it was waived --- was the very opposite of the Secretary because of the nature of his position. The Chief of the Bureau in general could easily become an expert in the business of his office while the man who occupied the secretaryship had his attention and energy diffused by the multifarious affairs of his department.

There were certain remarkable individuals in the Bureau that merit attention because of their influence, in one or another, on colonial policies. Of the Chiefs of the Bureau, at least two deserve special attention; Edwards and McIntyre. The former who came to be called "our Colonial Secretary" had a reputation of being a skillful organizer. He was credited with having done an unusually fine work in organizing America's island

possessions. Shortly before he died in 1931, he pointed to two things that he considered his greatest achievements in the Bureau: the sale of bonds which enabled the Philippine government under the Philippine Commission to purchase the friar lands and the gigantic tasks undertaken by his office in preparing the Philippine exhibits in the St. Louis World Fair.

Frank McIntyre initially started as assistant chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs in 1905. Retiring at the age of 64 years in 1929, McIntyre was probably the most experienced American colonial administrator of his time. His knowledge about the Philippine administration was so invaluable that Secretary of State Stimson appointed him Resident Trade Commissioner of the Philippine Islands.

Functions of the Bureau

As a link in the chain of colonial relationship between the United States and the Philippines, there grew in the Bureau a two-fold responsibility. First, since Congress was the supreme final authority, the Bureau was "answerable" to it for peace and order and good harmonious government in the Philippines. Regarding this aspect of its responsibility, the Bureau "represented" the interests of the insular government. It saw to it that the Philippines got a fair deal in its relations with the mother country. It had to justify before the President and Congress the way in which the Islands were governed. And second, the Bureau had the responsibility of conveying decisions arrived at through congressional and presidential initiative. In turn, these decisions were justified to the government and people of the Philippines.

The discharge of these responsibilities depended upon the Bureau's idea of stewardship. The philosophy was based on the assumption that the whites were superior and the "natives" inferior. The incapacity of the natives and the superiority of the whites were the principal articles of faith almost approximating a religion. The philosophy had two aspects: firstly, Americans

must uplift, educate, and civilize the Filipinos whether the latter liked it or not and, second, the Filipinos for their part should follow without question the American guidance because it would lead to their "mutual good." As to the question of who would terminate the trusteeship, the answer was obvious --- the Americans --- since logically they were in a position as guardians to know if the ward had progressed.

Translating this philosophy into policy and the policy into action was the responsibility of the Bureau of Insular Affairs. The Bureau's functions may be divided into two categories: first, those which dealt with the ordinary routine in the operation of any government office; and second, those which had to do with policies --- either formulating, altering, or modifying them.

The first category could be subdivided into paper work and manual work. The first dealt with the type of operation inherent in the Bureau as repository of records relating to the Philippines. It prepared and submitted to the Secretary of War such information regarding the Philippines as Congress required. The Bureau also compiled and sometimes published information and data for the consumption of the curious and the curiously interested who ranged from traders to teachers and other job-seekers. It also acted as a pipeline for the insular government through which teachers like the so-called "Thomasites" and other employees were procured and transported to the Philippines. In the early years of its operation, the Bureau (then the DIA) was responsible for sending men who established the currency system, the tariff system, and the auditing and accounting systems of the Philippines. In short, it laid down the framework of the Philippine government. It made the necessary arrangements for the education of the Filipino *pensionados* who were sent to study in the United States. Other valuable and varied services of the Bureau were the advantageous sale of short-term notes of the Philippines for the purchase of silver bullion, the minting of the currency, and the engraving and printing of Philippine paper money.

As a policy-making body, the most important work of the Bureau had been to prepare legislation for congressional deliberation. It was in this capacity that McIntyre greatly influenced the policy of the Democratic administration in the Islands. Considering also that Wilson was not so concerned and familiar with Philippine affairs, he had to lean heavily on the War Department, or more directly, on McIntyre for general policy and details of administration. During the same period, it was not uncommon to see McIntyre busy being consulted by congressmen, especially Representative William Jones of Virginia who wanted, in preparing his measure, to know the attitude of the BIA.

Corollary to this function was the task of preventing Congress from passing legislation which would be applicable to American conditions but most impractical to the Philippine situation. The consistency of the Bureau's adherence to its concept of responsibility to the Filipinos led one author to mistake its conduct as a display of "a certain ambivalence" especially during the time of McIntyre. The same author maintained that McIntyre was "the closest Washington came to having a permanent undersecretary for colonial affairs." He should not be puzzled over the so-called ambivalence of McIntyre because in consonance with the latter's conception of his two-fold responsibility, the goal to be achieved politically was harmony and good government in the Philippines.

Thus, when a political crisis rocked the Forbes administration, McIntyre went out of his way in assisting Representative Jones in the latter's bill which later became law in 1916 granting increased autonomy (and as implemented by Harrison, rapid Filipinization) to the Filipinos. Yet, at the same time, the chief of the Bureau would not extend himself far enough to follow the logic of the law, many provisions of which he wrote --- independence. Hence, McIntyre would rather have no law than adopt the Clarke Amendment to the Jones Law. This amendment would have granted independence to the Philippines in not less than two and not more than four years after the Jones Bill passed Congress. Again, McIntyre displayed the same

puzzling behavior when, through a letter transmitted by Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, he warned Governor Harrison not to let the Filipinos encroach on the jurisdiction of the executive. This "ambivalence" was nothing but consistency on the part of McIntyre. As America's colonial secretary, he had to achieve the goal of his office with respect to insular affairs --- harmony, stability and balance between the American and Filipino components of the insular government. Failure on his part made him "answerable" to Congress which exercised the final authority over the insular possessions.

Problems of the Bureau

The great responsibilities assumed by the Bureau and the functions it performed would elicit wonder not unmixed with pity. Pity, because considering its responsibilities, the Bureau remained throughout its lifetime a small office --- physically and organizationally. Together with the other offices of the War Department, the BIA shared the same over-crowded building. The only Bureau supposedly dealing with non-military matters, it seemed misplaced and a squatter in that building.

Handicapped by a lack of staff, constantly threatened with extinction from either Congress or the President, devoid of prestige or influence, the Bureau yearly and pathetically asked Congress for appropriations. It was impossible. At most, Congress gave it a mere pittance. Accentuating the problem was the loss of experienced personnel due to World War I, low salaries, deaths, and office-raiding.

The problem of manpower was further aggravated by the fact that besides the Philippines, the Bureau had other areas under its jurisdiction. Cuba was under it until the Republic was organized. In 1906, it was placed again under the Bureau's supervision. The same was true of Puerto Rico. The BIA also directed and supervised the Haitian and Dominican Customs Receiverships. At one time or another, it was also asked to assist in the organization of the central office for the Panama Canal Zone. The Bureau was even called upon for action in the

organization of customs services in Nicaragua, Liberia, and elsewhere.

Pressures from Congress and other problems were not the only ones which the Bureau confronted. Filipinos also complained of some activities of the BIA. For example, the Philippine exhibits in the St. Louis Exposition were considered as attempts at publicity and misrepresentation of conditions in the Philippines. It was, a Filipino nationalist charged, a slander to the "entire Filipino people." The action in sending the Igorots to the world fair inflicted a wound upon the pride and sensitivity of the Filipinos. The publicity which resulted therefrom, the nationalists feared, might lead to an association of ideas between the dog-eating Igorots and the Filipino capacity for self-government.

The Filipino nationalists as a group caused the BIA much irritation. Manuel L. Quezon was a case in point. As resident commissioner, Quezon delivered speeches in the House of Representatives on behalf of independence. He also organized a campaign which created sufficient noise that caused Edwards to summon Quezon and to threaten to get rid of him for stirring up too much trouble. The independence campaign must have bewildered the BIA since in private the nationalists seemed not seriously considering independence.

In 1922, McIntyre submitted a confidential memorandum reporting his talks with Quezon and Osmeña. The two Filipinos were advocates of immediate independence and yet in these talks, they claimed independence was not "seriously thought of." This Filipino ambivalence had the advantage of giving a new lease to the office and significantly supporting the Bureau's stand that independence was out of the question for "one or two" generations. Filipinas might want to stay under the protective custody of Mother America but a time might come when continued breast-feeding would prove to be totally out of the question. Thus when that time came as it did in the 1930's, there was no longer any alternative for the BIA except "extinction." The mistake of the BIA seemed to be in counting

on remaining as America's colonial office for a while. It failed to make allowance for the possibility that the move for independence might come from the opposite direction of the two-sided relationship --- from Mother America. Thus, the error of the Philippine policy insofar as the Bureau was charged with the responsibility of preparing the Filipinos for independence should be laid on its doorsteps. It is doubtful, however, if the Bureau was capable of preparing the Philippines for independence even if Congress did not restrict its activities. The office was administered by military men who, though efficient and conscientious, were nevertheless lacking in comprehension and imagination.

THE ROLE OF PANGASINAN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD 1896-1898*

Rosario M. Cortes

Pangasinan was not one of the eight provinces covered by the martial law decree of Governor General Ramon Blanco on August 30, 1896. In short, it was not one of the eight provinces that first took up the standard of revolt against Spain in 1896. In fact, a Dominican historian has averred that the province remained loyal to Spain "up to the last moment of sovereignty of that nation in this country."

The article disproves the presumption that Pangasinan did not participate in the Revolution. The article shows that the Pangasinenses overthrew the yoke of Spanish sovereignty on July 22, 1898, almost a month before the surrender of Manila by Spain to the United States.

KEYWORDS: Daniel Maramba*Vicente del Prado*Juan Quesada*Francisco Makabulos*Dagupan*Sta. Barbara*Binalatongan

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Pangasinan joined the Revolution at the renewal of hostilities after the return of Aguinaldo from Hong Kong. If Pangasinan was late in joining the Revolution of 1896, it was not due to a lack of courage. The fact is Pangasinan had been the site of two costly revolts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first in 1660-1661 led by Andres Malong, a native chieftain of Binalatongan and *maestro del campo*, was a province-wide revolt. The second revolt in 1762 led by Juan de la Cruz Palaris at the start of the British Occupation of Manila lasted until 1764. (Cortes 1974) The Pangasinenses, therefore, were not lacking in courage in opposing foreign domination. But after the two revolts, there may have been a change in the circumstances of the province and the attitude of the people. The same causes of discontent persisted, specifically the collection of the tribute and the administration of the compulsory labor system, but the people of Binalatongan, renamed San Carlos, resorted to legal measures for alleviation rather than to force of arms. The socio-economic developments of the nineteenth century wherein some measure of economic prosperity was brought to the province by commercial agriculture and the growth of both domestic and foreign trade may have muted protest against colonial misrule. (Cortes 1990)

It has, however, been claimed that tiny cells of the *Kataastaasan Kagalanggalang Katipunan nang manga Anak ng Bayan* or *Katipunan* for short had been formed in Pangasinan as early as 1893. But even by 1896, the number of these members did not exceed 32. The distance of the province from Manila, the elaborate secrecy surrounding the birth and spread of the *Katipunan*, and the cumbersome method used in recruiting members to preserve its secrecy appear to have precluded the early spread of the society. The language factor may also have served as a barrier. The *Katipunan* was organized in the heart of Tagalog country and the *Kartilya* was in Tagalog. There is no evidence that such was ever translated into Pangasinan or other native languages of the country. The introduction of the *Katipunan* in Pangasinan would have to come from those who had been exposed to it in Manila. Among others, this role would

be filled up by Daniel Maramba, Vicente del Prado, and Juan Quesada. All three belonged either to the native *principalia* or the Spanish-Filipino or Chinese-Filipino *mestizo* class, those sectors of society which benefited from the economic changes of the nineteenth century and sent their sons to Manila for higher education.

Daniel Maramba, born in 1870 of pure native stock, came from the traditional *principalia* class of Sta. Barbara, Pangasinan on his maternal side and from middle class merchant fishpond entrepreneurs of Bonuan, Dagupan on his paternal side. At age 18, he was sent to Manila to pursue higher studies in Letran College and the University of Sto. Tomas. Thus he belonged to the *ilustrado* class that spawned the Propaganda Period that preceded the Revolution. While in Manila, he frequented the home of Valentin Diaz, one of the founding members of the *Katipunan*, who exerted a profound influence on him. Through Diaz, he got acquainted with the *Noli Me Tangere*, *El Filibusterismo*, and copies of the *La Solidaridad*. On his return home in 1892, he was appointed *directorcillo* and later justice of the peace of his home town, Sta. Barbara.

In 1893, he visited Manila and went to see his uncle, Valentin Diaz. He learned of the *Katipunan*, joined the society and on July 21, 1893 was initiated at No. 374 Elcano Street in Tondo with the symbolic name *Baga*. There for the first and last time he met Andres Bonifacio, the founder of the *Katipunan*. (Maramba Sr. 1970)

In Sta. Barbara, Maramba recruited his closest relatives, the Benitos and Bautistas, and trusted friends, Mauricio Campos and Cristino Manlungat, to the *Katipunan*. Instead of bringing them to Manila for initiation, he requested Valentin Diaz to come to Sta. Barbara to initiate them. The tiny *Katipunan* chapter constituted the Binalatongan Council for Central Pangasinan and Maramba was given the rank of *kawal*. Diaz encouraged him to recruit more members from other towns. He did so and recruited the Domantay and Macaranas brothers, Lorenzo and Tomas

Fernandez and Marcelo Beltran in Malasiqui; in Urdaneta, Antonio del Prado, Primitivo Perez and Vicente Benito; in San Jacinto, Segundo Estaris; in Mangaldan, Marciano and Pedro de Guzman and Cipriano de Vera; in Calasiao, Enrique Velasco, Vicente Feliciano and Juan Estrada; and one more in Sta. Barbara, Alejandro Garcia. He reported his accomplishments in the Manila headquarters and was promoted to the rank of *bayani*. A perusal of these names reveals that they belonged to the traditional *principalia* or to the emergent middle class --- the class that traditionally furnished leadership in the rural areas. This class, constituting the provincial elite, also furnished the leadership of the Revolution in the provinces, unlike in Manila where the leadership belonged to the lower middle class.

As a town official and because of a previous brush with the town's friar parish priest, Maramba had to be highly circumspect and guarded in his actions and behavior. This probably explains why the Binalatongan Council never expanded beyond its nucleus.

Vicente del Prado, of Spanish-Filipino descent from San Jacinto, also belonged to the traditional *principalia* class. He attended the Ateneo de Manila and was also exposed to the ideals of the *Katipunan*.

Juan Quesada belonged to the Chinese-Filipino *mestizo* community of Dagupan which had prospered greatly in the domestic and foreign trade of the nineteenth century. He, too, had had the benefit of higher education at the Ateneo de Manila.

Maramba was in Manila when the *Katipunan* was discovered but learned of it only much later. In the confusion that followed, he could not contact any of his brothers in the society who had either gone underground or taken to the field. Returning to Pangasinan, he found the province tranquil although wild rumors of arrests and imprisonments circulated. Without arms and cut off from the main leadership of the Revolution, Maramba adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

On December 3, 1896 martial law was extended to the provinces of Bataan and Zambales but Pangasinan was still not among the areas declared to be in a state of war. The local elections were suspended in those ten provinces under martial law. (Taylor 1971, I: 271-272; I: 275-276) But in Pangasinan, it was business as usual. Local officials were chosen on New Year's Day of 1897 and the results reported to Manila.

The Revolutionary Ferment Reaches Pangasinan

The effects of the upheaval in the Tagalog provinces were far-reaching and enduring. The waves of unrest finally reached Pangasinan late in 1897. (Kalaw 1969, 60) Kalaw mentions the occurrence of revolutionary activities in October 1897. A local historical account claims that chapters of the *Katipunan* were organized in November 1897 in Alaminos and other western towns which at that time still belonged to Zambales province. (Quintos 1926, 8-10) Thus, the revolutionary wave reached Pangasinan after it had passed its crest in the Tagalog region. Ironically, this was already the period when Spanish and Filipino revolutionists had been drawn into a stalemate and negotiations for a truce were already being negotiated.

Disturbances of the peace and order were reported in several towns, among them Sta. Barbara and San Carlos. These disturbing elements were referred to as "*katipongos*," a travesty of the term *katipuneros*. (Maramba Sr. 1970, 41) They were regarded as bandits and robbers, not revolutionaries. To counteract these lawless elements, the local governments organized volunteer groups to protect the people from the deprivations of robbers and bandits masquerading as rebels.

The Spanish government also recruited *voluntarios locales* among the loyal provinces which were armed to take sides against the rebellious Tagalog provinces. These native volunteers were offered food rations, the same pay as the native soldiers in the Spanish militia, pensions for those injured, and

exemptions of their eldest sons from conscription and the compulsory labor system. Touring the provinces of Pampanga, Tarlac and Pangasinan in November 1897, Governor General Fernando Primo de Rivera reported the enthusiasm of the people in joining these volunteer groups which became a part of the Spanish militia. (Taylor 1971, I:339) The positive response of the loyal provinces to General Rivera's call for volunteers was one of the reasons given by Emilio Aguinaldo to his officers and followers when he explained to them why he had acceded to the terms of Biac-na-bato. (Taylor 1971, I:422)

The End of the Spanish Regime

The people of Pangasinan learned of the peace agreement when Aguinaldo passed through Dagupan on the 27th of December 1897 on his way to Sual to board the *S.S. Uranus* for Hong Kong. (Taylor 1971, I: 422) The local volunteer forces were not disbanded despite the official ending of the war. They became even more necessary as rural police forces to protect the towns from cattle rustlers and other lawless bands.

It is one of the ironies of history that control of the Islands by Spain started to slide from her grasp just when she thought she had secured a grip of the situation. While it is true that the rebels had turned in their arms in exchange for monetary compensation and the leaders exiled to Hong Kong with the signing of the Pact of Biac-na-bato, the prestige of Spain was irrevocably eroded. In paying off Aguinaldo and his men to leave the country, Spain was seen to have demonstrated weakness instead of strength. The renewal of the rebellion was therefore but a matter of time.

Among the leaders of Aguinaldo left behind was General Francisco Makabulos y Soliman of Central Luzon. He availed himself of Spanish amnesty on January 14, 1898. Later on, he was appointed military and civil commander of the Philippine Militia in the zone of Tarlac. But even as he was supposedly serving the Spanish government, Makabulos was organizing local revolutionary boards in the provinces of Tarlac, Pampanga,

parts of Pangasinan, La Union, and Zambales, consisting of a president, vice president and a treasurer. (Taylor 1971, I: 430-431) Daniel Maramba, Vicente del Prado and Juan Quesada joined the Makabulos organization and reached an understanding with him on the launching of a concentrated attack on Spanish installations at a signal to be given by Makabulos. The signal came in March 1898 through a special messenger sent by Makabulos.

On March 7, 1898 a simultaneous attack was suddenly made upon the convents in a number of towns in Zambales, those towns which now constitute the western part of Pangasinan located west of Lingayen. --- Alaminos, Agno, Anda, Bani, Balincaguin, Bolinao, Dasol, Eguia, and Potot. The bloody uprising spread to Labrador, Sual, and Salasa. The rebels attempted to take Lingayen too but at Dumalandan, before they could reach the town, they were repulsed by a Spanish contingent under Captain Gil de Palacios. The small Spanish detachments were annihilated and 50 Spanish soldiers were reportedly killed together with six Spanish friars. (Taylor 1971, II: 3) Spanish troops were rushed to Alaminos and the movement was crushed with loss of men to both sides. The rebels under Roman Manalang, Felipe Quintos and Marcelo Garcia fled to the mountains in the west. (Quintos 1926, 26)

That same day, March 7, 1898, Daniel Maramba placed the much astonished Fr. Tienza, the parish priest of Sta. Barbara, under house arrest and handed the affairs of the parish over to Fr. Cadiz, a Filipino secular priest. Spanish forces in Dagupan attempted to retake Sta. Barbara but they were repulsed. Sta. Barbara was the first Pangasinan town to pass into Filipino hands. Subsequently, the Spanish officials decided to concentrate their forces in Lingayen to protect the capital of the province. Thus, Maramba was able to expand his operations to Malasiqui, Urdaneta, and Mapandan. (Maramba 1970, 52)

On the 17th of April, an assembly was convened by General Makabulos at Zomboy in Tarlac to organize a central-governing body for Central and Northern Luzon. Representatives

of Tarlac, Pampanga, Pangasinan, La Union, and Zambales met. A Central and Directive Committee of Central and Northern Luzon was organized with Francisco Makabulos y Soliman as president. Vicente del Prado was appointed politico-military governor of Pangasinan with Juan Quesada as second in command. (Taylor 1971, III: 222) Thus, even before the return of Aguinaldo, Pangasinan was already under revolutionary status.

The return of Aguinaldo from Hong Kong in May 1898 gave fresh impetus to the renewal of the Revolution. On the 3rd of June 1898, General Makabulos entered Tarlac and from that day on the fires of revolution spread. In Pangasinan, the Katipunan forces under Del Prado and Quesada were alerted and they began taking town after town. Calasiao, Binmaley, and San Carlos were taken over in the month of June. The *voluntarios locales* of these towns went over to the revolutionary forces as the *Katipunan* army entered the town.

Vicente del Prado and Juan Quesada, jointly commanding a strong army, campaigned all over western Pangasinan, occupying the towns of Sual, Labrador, Lingayen, Salasa, and Bayambang. On the 30th of June, the Spanish authorities decided to evacuate all their forces to Dagupan where a last stand was to be taken. Certainly, the Spanish officials in Lingayen must have been informed of the events taking place in the Manila Bay region where Aguinaldo had already proclaimed Philippine independence at Kawit, Cavite on June 12, 1898. The telegraph system had already been in place in the province since 1873, connecting Lingayen and Dagupan to Manila, and the Spanish governor general took the appropriate measures. All civilian and military elements were ordered to go to Dagupan while the *voluntarios locales* of towns not yet taken were also ordered to do the same. These were the volunteer forces of Mangaldan, San Jacinto, Pozorrubio, Manaoag, and Villasis. (Quintos 1926, 66)

General Makabulos expanded his operations from Tarlac to eastern Pangasinan and the towns of Binalonan, San Manuel,

and Asingan were taken. (Quintos 1926, 69-81) On the 18th of July, the siege of Dagupan started. Vicente del Prado who had freed the towns of western Pangasinan and Daniel Maramba who had captured Mangaldan earlier brought their forces to Dagupan to join the siege. The arrival of General Makabulos strengthened the rebel forces and on the 22nd of July 1898 Dagupan fell. All the Spanish provincial officials, military and civilian, surrendered and were taken as prisoners of war. (Quintos 1926, 65-66) July 22, 1898 thus marked the liberation of Pangasinan from Spanish rule.

In the euphoria of victory, the Pangasinenses, finally rid of Spanish authority, decided to reenact the proclamation of independence done at Kawit, Cavite on June 12, 1898 in their own principal town of Dagupan to proclaim their own freedom from foreign masters. A provincial assembly was convened in Dagupan on the 28th of July 1898. There, "the most prominent military officers and the persons most notable in the province by reason of their moral and social standing, and the civil officials," were "assembled under the Presidency of His Excellency, Sr. Don Francisco Makabulos y Soliman," and "there was read the Act of Proclamation of Independence of the Filipino People which took place in Cavite Viejo, the 12th of June the last." Those present unanimously agreed to recognize and submit to the dictatorship of Don Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy as Superior Chief of the archipelago. They also decided to petition the supreme authority to declare the 12th of June a national holiday and the 22nd of July a provincial holiday in Pangasinan "to commemorate so momentous an event." (Taylor 1971, III: 276)

Thus, by the end of July and the beginning of August, the revolutionary government of General Emilio Aguinaldo was firmly in command of Luzon, the Visayas, and northern Mindanao, except for the city of Manila (meaning Intramuros) which the Filipino revolutionary forces now held under siege. This remarkable feat of Aguinaldo within three months of his arrival from Hong Kong may be explained by the fact that parts of and whole regiments of the Philippine Militia had deserted

and joined the ranks of their rebellious compatriots. As examples, there were Francisco Makabulos y Soliman and Daniel Maramba, a general and first lieutenant, respectively, who both executed a quick turnabout at the proper moment.

The surrender of the city of Manila on August 13, 1898 to American forces and the exclusion of Filipino forces thereat finally confirmed the motives of the American government. Aguinaldo realized the dangers to which his capital in Bacoor was exposed so he moved his capital to Malolos, Bulacan in the first week of September. On the 27th of September 1898, the town chiefs of Pangasinan were gathered at Malolos for an election of the provincial chief, the delegates to Congress and other officials. The meeting was presided over by Severino de las Alas, the Secretary of Interior. As a result of the election, Vicente del Prado was chosen the Pangasinan representative to the National Assembly together with Antonio Feliciano, while Juan Quesada was elected governor. The other officials chosen were Baldomero Alvear as secretary, Juan Galvan and Catalino Palisoc as tellers, while Felipe Yango Bartolome was named councilor of peace and order, Juan Bengzon as councilor of justice and civil registration, and Rafael Sison as councilor of revenue and property. It will be noted that Baldomero Alvear was the town chief of Binalonan and Juan Galvan of Dagupan while Felipe Bartolome had been provisional governor. Juan Bengzon and Rafael Sison belonged to the highly respected Bengzon and Sison clans of Lingayen and Dagupan.

These political developments conclusively show that the Pangasinenses participated in and contributed in the formation of the Filipino nation. They did not hesitate to shed their blood in finally joining the Revolution against Spain. What their ancestors failed to accomplish in the revolts of 1660 and 1762, they finally succeeded on July 22, 1898. And when another foreign power imposed its might on the newly-born nation, the Pangasinenses again fought in defense of their nationhood. That they ultimately succumbed to another imperial power does not detract from the heroism of her people and the glory of their deeds. Today, almost a century later, it is well to recall that their

sacrifices on the battlefield contributed to the attainment of that freedom that we now enjoy.

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THE FORMATION OF THE PHILIPPINE NATIONAL COMMUNITY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS*

Oscar L. Evangelista

Is there an actual sense of nation in the Philippines today? A look at the contemporary scene provides a negative answer to the question: regionalism is strong, coupled with elite leadership based on regional or provincial considerations; a national language is still aborning with strong resistance coming from Cebuanos and other ethnic groups; the insurgency problem still rages despite the general weakening of the communist movement.

The paper retraces the different stages in the development of a Philippine national community and examines the factors/events that both advanced and impeded its development.

*KEYWORDS: Nation*Nationalism*National Community* National Identity*Nationhood*Elites*Masses*

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Introduction

In defining the nation and national community, E.J. Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm 1991) suggests that the concept of nation must be seen as linked with nationalism, that it is a modern phenomenon and changing, that "the nation can be recognized *a posteriori*." He notes that nationalism "sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them." Departing from the traditional "ingredients" of a nation like language, common territory, common history, and cultural traits, he holds that nationalist programs constructed from such ingredients cannot be understood unless analyzed from below in terms of 'assumptions, hopes, needs, and longings of ordinary people.'

Benedict Anderson (Anderson 1983) posits that "the nation is an imagined, limited, sovereign community; imagined because its members are not easily seen; limited because boundaries are set for the designated territory; sovereign because the nation state holds the lone and total sway over its designated territory and people."

Prehistory

Philippine prehistory is linked to the ethno-history of Island Southeast Asia and Oceania which can be traced back to the Holocene Period of the Pleistocene Era. Looking at settlement patterns, Bellwood hypothesizes that Island Southeast Asia, Australia and Western Melanesia were settled by non-Austronesian speakers. But around 5,000 B.C., these communities may have broken up and been replaced by Austronesian speakers. The "heartland" of that Austronesian world was the Philippines, together with Taiwan and Indonesia. (Bellwood 1979) The Austronesian peoples, sharing a boat and seafaring tradition, moved to different parts of the world by 2,000 B.C., spreading their languages and cultures from Madagascar in the Indian Ocean to "Oceania" and the Pacific Islands. Geographic and ecological settings spurred the

differentiation between the culture of the Pacific Islands, which remained in its Neolithic stage, and Southeast Asian culture, which developed highly sophisticated cultures partly because of the role played by irrigated rice-field agriculture. (Evangelista 1983-1984)

A.D. 1-1565

By the Christian era, the Philippines shared with its Southeast Asian neighbors a Neolithic-based culture which consisted of the following elements: 1) materially, *sawah* agriculture, domestication of ox and buffalo, use of metals and navigational skills; 2) socially, the importance of women, descent on the maternal side, and respect for elders and constituted authority; 3) religiously, animism, *anito* worship, ancestor worship, jar burial; 4) culturally, *wayang kulit*, *gamelan* orchestra, and *batik* painting.

With this Neolithic-based culture as foundation, Southeast Asia began its accommodation of the great cultural traditions of India, China and Islamic Arabia. The political legacies of these traditions are evident in Southeast Asia, particularly in relation to the Philippines. With the Indianization of Southeast Asia, there emerged the Indianized states of Funan, Champa, Shri-Vijaya, Angkor, Mataram, Majapahit, among others, elevating the small coastal principalities into political states along the lines of Hindu-Buddhist political theories. These states recognized a divine ruler, introduced a bureaucracy initially lorded over by the Hindu Brahmins, and formed a "radio-wave" state where the sovereign ruler held power in the center of the concentric circle. No similar state emerged in the Philippines. Why was this so? The answer lies in the Asian trading patterns which played a dynamic role in bringing about changes in Asia.

Products coming from India had China as their terminal point. By the beginning of the Christian era, it was already possible to use the sea route through the coasts of Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Malacca, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and

China. Later, with the discovery of the flow of the southwest monsoon, it became the pattern for boats to stay for some time in Malacca or in islands nearby to await the southwest winds that would take them directly to China, in effect making the trip faster. On both routes, the Philippines was bypassed, partly explaining why Indianization came late to its shores. The Indian influences that finally came were brought by Indianized Southeast Asians. This Indian influence explains why the Philippines shares with other Southeast Asian countries many words of Sanskrit origin. (Rye 1993, 711-712) However, the influence was too weak to provide the necessary impetus for local leaders to establish a Hindu-type state. Thus, in comparison with its neighbors, the Philippines remained in the Neolithic stage until the arrival of Islam in Southern Philippines in the late thirteenth century.

The coming of Islam to Southeast Asia in the thirteenth century had lasting effects on its island world. Islam brought with it the sultanate as the political expression of a total way of life. From Sumatra, Islam went to Malacca, and from there, to the coastal areas of the Indonesian islands, and finally to Southern Philippines. From the Sulu archipelago, it spread to other parts of Mindanao, the Visayas, and Luzon. When the Spaniards arrived in 1521, Islam was well on its way to "Islamizing" the whole archipelago.

Until the coming of Islam, the Philippines did not develop a political system beyond the *balangay* or *barangay*, as reported by Spanish sources. (De Morga 1990) There were as many small units as there were ethnic communities in the coastal areas, each independent from one another. Being small units, *balangays* were run according to kinship relations, thereby laying the foundation of ethnicity and kinship as primary factors not only in internal matters but also in outside relationships.

In comparison to its neighbors, Mainland Southeast Asia had become Theravada Buddhist, with the exception of Vietnam, which remained Mahayanist. Island Southeast Asia, on the other hand, became Islamic. As cross-cultural accommodations of

these countries with the Hindu-Buddhist, Chinese, and Islamic traditions occurred, the foundations of modern political states with shared religious-cultural identities were established. Philippine society remained fractured, becoming a more serious situation when the entry of Spain dealt a blow to the relations between the Islamized and the would-be Christianized Filipinos.

1565-1861

Spanish colonialism brought with it a colonial name for the country, *Filipinas*, and a new religion, Roman Catholicism. The new religion and the friars were to become agents of change, gradually welding together the disparate ethnic communities into one political community. The process of Hispanization was accomplished through various means. The first step was to attract the coastal communities to move to the newly created *sitios* to facilitate the introduction of Catholicism since there were few missionaries available to spread the new religion. This device to aid in the integration of the small communities into the Spanish colonial system of government had been first tested in the Americas. The *reduccion* or resettlement policy placed the natives within hearing distance of the pealing of church bells under the program called *bajo de la campana*.

What attractions were offered by the missionaries? As livelihood was important to the natives, a new agricultural system based on irrigation and new agricultural implements were introduced. Together with these were new plants and animals that enriched the source of food for the country. It was likewise important to make the rituals of the new religion attractive since the native religion was ritualistic and colorful. Feasts of the saints were celebrated, giving rise to town *fiestas* and the *fiesta* tradition that has become part and parcel of Philippine life. The *Corpus Christi* procession and Holy Week rituals were made more colorful. In teaching the sacraments, Spanish priests allowed the natives to accept Catholic precepts within the purview of local beliefs, lest the natives return to paganism. The result was an extremely ritualistic, fanatical type of Christianity that responded to many existing beliefs of Filipinos. Referred to

as Folk Catholicism or "split level Christianity," the survival of native beliefs meant that underneath the new religion was native spirituality as manifest in the continuing belief in Mariang Sinukuan, Mariang Makiling, and the sacredness of Mt. Banahaw with its native cults. (David 1997, 9) Thus originated the oppositions: the rosary versus amulets (*anting anting*); the *babaylan* versus priests; baptism and holy water as cure for illness, etc. (Phelan 1959) It is worth noting that folk religious practices are more prevalent among the masses than among the elites who serve as patrons or *hermanas* of festivals but are generally non-participant in such rituals as flagellation and in native cults.

The center of the town was the church, symbolizing the importance of religion and its dominance in the shaping of colonial Filipino culture. Print technology brought by the friars became the medium for introducing the Western alphabet and eventually Western ideas to the natives. The friars, instead of teaching the Spanish language, took pains to learn the native dialects in order to teach the tenets of the Catholic faith to the natives. Thus, early prayers together with dictionaries were printed in the dialect. Literate natives were later on exposed to literature written in Spanish. In the absence of a common language that could have been propagated by print technology, the sense of community was not engendered.

Education in the hands of the friars facilitated the popularity of the novena, *pasyon*, *comedia*, morality play, etc. The religious theme permeated art, painting, music, sculpture, etc. Yet, the old culture was not obliterated; the flair for versification, native songs, the world of the *anito*, superstitious beliefs, animism, and magic persisted. The growth of Folk Catholicism allowed for the survival of native beliefs and institutions. Western religion, redefined in Filipino terms and milieus, only partially Hispanized Philippine culture.

The integration of local communities into the larger and more centralized Spanish political system through religion and the friars was a slow process but it did establish a political state

for the Christianized natives under one system of law and government. The more than 200 revolts from the inception of Spanish rule to the mid-1850s exhibited the staggered resistance of the colonized natives to Spanish rule.

The Islamized ethnic communities in Southern Philippines, collectively called *Moros* by the Spaniards, were the first communities in the Philippines to be united by a world religion with a distinct political system, the sultanate. The *Moros* identified not only with the *datu* or *sultan* at the local level but also with an international community of Muslims, the *ummah*. The entry of the Spaniards and the Christianization of Northern Philippines exacerbated relations between Christians and Muslims, leading to a long and continuous struggle known in Philippine history as the Moro Wars. (Majul 1973)

The natives of the Cordilleras belonging to different ethnic groups collectively referred to as Igorots also resisted Spanish rule. Being highlanders with a common culture and identity, they also provided another thorn in the formation of a national community. (Scott 1993)

Very few Spaniards were available to rule the country, making it necessary for the colonial government to co-opt the local elites in governance. The traditional *datos* became barrio chiefs or *cabezas de barangay*, the glorified tax collectors and recruiters of the dreaded forced labor (*polos y servicios*). When towns or *pueblos* were later established, the local aristocracy was again tapped to provide the *gobernadorcillos*. To give the native servants an aura of distinction, the term *principalia* was bestowed on them, giving them titles of *dons* and *doñas*.

Thus, from the 16th to the 19th century, the *principalia* was the junior partner of the Spanish colonial administration. By the 1870s, however, an intellectual elite, the *ilustrados*, emerged. They were the product of a new economic policy that started in the 1760s and ended with the permanent opening of Philippine ports to foreign trade in the 1830s. The rise in economic status of *inquilinos* and native traders gave them the opportunity of

sending their children to schools in Manila and even abroad. While the *principalia* were the mainstay of the colonial bureaucracy, the *ilustrados* sowed the seeds of a national identity and the development of the nationalist movements. On the social level, the *principales* and *ilustrados* were to develop a high subculture as they became recipients of the Spanish language and material changes brought by European influences.

1861-1913

The Spaniards formed the Philippine colonial state, bringing together the different disparate ethnic communities into one body politic. That colonial state, the *Madre España* of the *peninsulares*, was used by the *ilustrados* as a basis for their clamor for a Philippine Province and their definition of Filipinas as a separate *nación* under Spain. (Hobsbawm 1991, 14-15) It was in the Propaganda Movement that nationalism was first manifested through the writings of Jose Rizal, Marcelo del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena. That this movement was launched in Europe, particularly in Spain, and that the writings were in Spanish meant that the reforms and changes envisioned reached only the educated Filipinos. The Propagandists' ideology of nationalism and concept of *nación* were a product of the European tradition of liberalism and freedom, a "history from above" perspective.

Within the context of the "history from below," and seen from the study made by Reynaldo Ileto in his *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*, the native masses had a different perception of nationalism which interpreted freedom (*kalayaan*) as a return to the good life before the coming of the Spaniards. While the *ilustrados* spoke of *nación* and *independencia*, the masses looked to *Inang Bayan* and *kalayaan*, thus, the persistence of two contradicting notions of the national community and national identity. In the minds of the revolutionists led by Andres Bonifacio and the Katipunan, *Madre España* became *Inang Bayan* and represented what Teodoro Agoncillo called the "Revolt of the Masses." From August 1896 until March 1897, *nación* and *Inang bayan* met and

moved in the same direction. However, Emilio Aguinaldo's taking over the leadership meant a return to elitism and the pursuance of the concept of *nación*. The First Philippine Republic was born but it did not survive for long because of the entry of the United States and its acquisition of the Philippines in 1898. The Philippine-American War followed, with the Americans establishing civil government in 1901. Radicalism manifested itself in peasant and millenarian movements while the elites were co-opted by the American administration.

The foregoing "story" of the nationalist movement and the Revolution implied that the coming to existence of a nation was cut short by American imperialism. The traditional view is that the first phase of the Revolution was Tagalog-based and was confined to the eight provinces in Luzon. The second phase was apparently national in nature but regionalism reared its ugly head in the establishment of the Negros Republic, the half-hearted participation of the Visayas and Mindanao regions, and the refusal of the Moro sultans to join the Revolution. (Veneracion 1987, 156) Nonetheless, symbols of a nation can be seen in the First Philippine Republic: a people opposed to colonialism, a political state, a flag, a national anthem, a national army. Yet, other ingredients for a strong national identity were lacking. The interests, world view, and concept of national community of the mass-based natives differed from the interests and aspirations of the elites. Even among the elites, there was division as seen in the quarrels of the *ilustrado* propagandists. No sense of national purpose emerged. The differing class interests explain the collaboration of the elites with the Americans, in contrast to the peasant-based millenarian opposition against American rule.

While Spain's 300 years of colonization resulted only in partial Hispanization, America's less than 50 years of colonial rule succeeded in Americanizing Philippine society. The secret of this success lay in the establishment of a public school system using English as medium of instruction.

In 1901, the public school system was formally inaugurated. Some 500 American teachers who arrived on board

the *U.S.S. Thomas*, popularly known as the *Thomasites*, were assigned in different parts of the country, becoming the first agents for the eventual Americanization of Philippine society. By 1906, the elites were offered scholarships by American universities under the *pensionado* program. Local training was provided by the University of the Philippines which was founded in 1908.

While the co-opted elites led a new generation of English-speaking Filipinos, the masses expressed their resistance through rural-based cults and brotherhoods.

1913-1946

America won the battle of the mind as the educational system produced Filipinos whose thinking processes were inextricably linked to the English language and, together with it, the institutions connected with the Americans. (Constantino 1970) The classroom was the venue for a change in orientation and outlook towards values, taste, jobs, and concept of the outside world. Undoubtedly, there were many benefits derived from the educational system: 1) it provided an avenue for upward social mobility which is still deeply ingrained among contemporary Filipinos 2) it gave exposure to a wide English-speaking world and all its political, economic, cultural and scientific ramifications. Yet, the enslavement of the mind has made it very difficult for educated Filipinos to be freed from the fetters of colonial mentality which, as a hindrance to the development of a strong Filipino identity, is a handicap that has yet to be outlived. This explains why the statehood movement, very popular in the 1970s, has not died down; why there are still long queues for visas in the American embassy; why the English language remains the choice of many educated Filipinos.

America strengthened the political state with the introduction of representative government recognizing the division of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial bodies, the foundation of a strong civil service, a bill of rights recognizing individual freedoms, party politics, etc. Yet, the

changes mirrored the interests of the elites which explain why the early electorate was confined to the elites, why political dynasties persisted and *ilustrado* politics continued to be practiced, why power remained in the center, why no effective land reform program was inaugurated. The consumer-oriented and agriculture-based economy favored the elites, strengthening their hold on Philippine society and further widening the gap between the rich and the poor.

The establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935 set the stage for an all-Filipino government and was the product of a policy of the American colonial administration to prepare Filipinos politically for independence. It was also the realization of the dream of the elites to see an independent Philippines. But was there a consensus in the emerging political community? The agrarian problem, the tenancy situation, and the wide gap between the rich and the poor were indicators of the rise of "underground" radical movements manifested in the *Colorum* uprising of the 1930s, the socialist and communist movements, the *Sakdal* uprising, and the *Hukbalahap* movement.

The Pacific War and the Japanese Occupation united the community with one purpose: resistance to the Japanese invaders. For three years, class conflicts were minimized as the rich and the poor suffered deprivations at the hands of the Japanese. With the liberation came new hopes that independence would bring a better life for all.

1946-1992

However, the restoration of independence signaled a return to *ilustrado* politics and the realignment of political forces. Manuel Roxas under the Liberal Party championed a foreign policy of close friendship with the United States. And through the granting of parity rights to the Americans and the maintenance of American military bases, American sovereignty in Philippine affairs continued. Philippine foreign relations and the economy were tied to American interests. These significant features of Philippine-American relations provided the

ammunition for nationalists to focus on anti-Americanism as the symbol of nationalism and to fight the vestiges of the neo-colonial state.

The major problems facing the Philippines resurfaced: elite domination of political and economic institutions; tenancy and land problems; insurgency and the rise of the radical left. By 1970, student activism turned radical as the youth clamored for drastic changes in Philippine society. The radical left was divided between the old *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* owing loyalty to the Soviet Union and the reorganized Communist Party of the Philippines under the leadership of Jose Maria Sison. Philippine society was in turmoil. In 1972, President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law, established a dictatorship and formed what he called the New Society. He vowed, among other things, to fight oligarchic rule and to have a comprehensive land reform program, a recognition of two problems that have perennially plagued the Philippines. But instead of the promised reforms, there followed wanton corruption, cronyism, the favored role of the military, violation of human rights, and the downfall of the economy. There was likewise a resurgence of the communist movement and the organization of the Moro National Liberation Front. The assassination of Ninoy Aquino was the catalyst of the People Power EDSA Revolution in 1986, a shining moment for Filipinos. There were great expectations as the Corazon Aquino regime was inaugurated. Democratic institutions were restored but the return to power of the oligarchs, the series of military coups, and corruption in high places of government negated the gains of the People Power Revolution.

Conclusion

The combined political and socio-cultural factors involved in the formation of the national community bring out the following observations/conclusions:

Colonialism was responsible for the establishment of the Philippine state, contributing both its strength and weakness.

The co-optation of the elites in the Spanish and American colonial administrations had profound political, economic and socio-cultural implications in the development of the national community.

The perception of the "nation" differed between the elites and the masses, resulting in two distinct versions of the "imagined community." The irreconcilability of the two perceptions and the incompatibility of the "longings" of the masses with the privileged perception underscore the failure to meet one of Hobsbawm's requirements that a national program must listen to the needs and aspirations of the masses.

Kinship and ethnicity were key factors in social relationships.

Filipino culture underwent several adaptations and syntheses.

Colonial mentality persists, hindering the emergence of national consciousness.

As one looks at the contemporary scene, historical perspective provides some answers to the divisiveness and seeming lack of a sense of nationhood. It is apparent that the historical circumstances earlier discussed helped in the formation of the national community. Yet, the same historical circumstances contributed to the weakness of the Philippine state, giving one the impression that there is no sense of nationhood, no national consciousness.

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MANUEL L. QUEZON AS RESIDENT COMMISSIONER (1909-1916)*

Napoleon J. Casambre

Manuel L. Quezon was Resident Commissioner to the United States from 1909 to 1916. First elected to the position in 1909, he was reelected thereto in 1911, 1913, and 1915. However, his role in this capacity is relatively unknown and yet, he is referred to as the "Father of the Filipino Nationalist Movement" and "Architect of Philippine Independence."

The article discusses two tasks that Quezon performed as Resident Commissioner --- first, to give pertinent information to the United States Congress on real conditions in the Philippines so that it could legislate wisely and constructively for the Philippines; second, to conduct a campaign for immediate, complete and absolute Philippine independence.

*KEYWORDS: Manuel L. Quezon*Resident Commissioner*United States Congress*Jones Law*Francis B. Harrison*

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Even before leaving the Islands for Washington D.C. to assume his post as Resident Commissioner, Manuel L. Quezon, together with some Filipino nationalist leaders, had already rightly recognized that the best way to carry out an effective fight for early Philippine independence was to influence American public opinion and the United States Congress. For the former was, and still is, a potent factor in determining policies of the American government and the latter was the body that would ultimately decide the question of Philippine independence.

Having been sworn in as a courtesy member of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, Commissioner Quezon busied himself mastering the English language in order to be able to deliver speeches in English. He hired a tutor, but believing that the process was very slow, he gave up after finishing fifteen lessons. Instead, he taught himself by reading books, newspapers and magazines with the help of the English-Spanish dictionary and also by attending social gatherings without anyone with him to act as his interpreter.

On May 14, 1910, about five months after his arrival in the American capital, Quezon delivered his maiden speech in the lower house of the United States Congress. He reviewed in detail the splendid work of the United States Government in the Philippines, expressing his people's gratitude. He also appealed to the pride, patriotism and devotion to the principles of liberty and self-government of the American people. But then, he added the reminder that in spite of all the good things done by America in his country, the Filipinos preferred to be free and independent. He declared:

"All this we acknowledge, for all this we are thankful, for all this we are grateful to your Government and to your people. But, Sir, despite it all, the Filipinos are not, as yet, a happy people. Would you ask me why? Then, I will answer in the language of that great apostle of human freedom, Daniel Webster:

'No matter how easy may be the yoke of a foreign power, no matter how lightly it sits upon the shoulders, if it is not imposed by the voice of his own nation and of his own country, he will not, he cannot, and he means not, to be happy under its burden.'

These words to us, Mr. Chairman, are freedom's text and rallying cry. We feel their truth deep in our souls for it is the vital spark of our national hope.

On the whole, his address was mild in tone and the Filipino nationalists who expected him to make an impassioned harangue in favor of immediate independence were somewhat disappointed. But Quezon knew that he was in Washington to persuade and not to insult and, therefore, he had to act accordingly. The character of the independence campaign he was to undertake --- conciliatory in form but direct and determined in substance --- was thus reflected in his speech.

Quezon made the United States Congress his real field of action for his campaign. On the floor of the House of Representatives, he delivered speeches and vigorously participated in the debates every time the subject of Philippine independence was the issue. On one occasion, when he had an opportunity to inform his colleagues in Congress why the grant of independence to the Philippines rather than incorporation of the Philippines as a state of the Union would be a wise and just policy for the American government to pursue, he said:

American policy regarding the Philippines must be based upon the theory that the United States by its traditions, by its history and institutions, and by the principles which constitute the very foundation of its national life, cannot consistently hold colonies against the avowed will of the inhabitants thereof. Therefore, that policy to be truly American must contemplate as a final outcome either statehood or independence. Statehood for the Philippines is not

desirable either from the standpoint of the American or from that of the Filipino. Differences in race, customs, interest and the thousands of miles of water which separate both countries are insurmountable obstacles to Philippine statehood.

Perhaps, he delivered his most eloquent speeches pleading for what he called the "holy cause," the independence of his people, when the United States Congress was considering the Jones Bill. Every day from September 26 to October 14, 1914 he spoke on the floor oftentimes defending the independence bill, and at other times clarifying some unpleasant remarks of his colleagues. In one of the sessions, he got into a heated debate with Congressman Simon D. Fess of Ohio. Congressman Fess asked Quezon whether he believed that Filipinos, without the aid of Americans, could have made the progress they showed since the beginning of American rule in the Philippines. Quezon made no answer but when it was impatiently demanded, he finally answered in the affirmative, causing much discomfort and embarrassment to the American solon.

Fully aware that he should also influence American public opinion in order to carry out his campaign more successfully, he spoke before American audiences outside the United States Congress. Under the sponsorship of the Anti-Imperialist League, he traveled through different states in the American Union, taking every opportunity to speak on actual conditions in the Philippines. At the same time, he tried to remind the American people that through their Congress, they had the moral duty to enact a law giving Filipinos their independence. Speaking before the Chamber of Industry of Cleveland, Ohio on April 14, 1914 Commissioner Quezon stated that Filipinos were unanimous in their desire for independence and that the argument of their incapacity to exercise it was merely a reason of those who wanted to retain the Islands for the protection as well as for the advancement of their interests. He declared:

We all want independence and are entitled to it. The argument of Filipino incapacity for self-government is hypocritical. It is the veil with which an American officeholder covers his desire to keep his place. It is the ambush behind which lurk the company which monopolizes our hemp and sugar interests which have already acquired, in defiance of Congress, 65,000 acres of land in one tract.... Or, at best, it is the wish farther to the thought of some missionaries or churchmen who mistakenly think that they can make more converts among the wild men of the Philippines.

Aside from speaking tours, Commissioner Quezon attended national conventions and popular gatherings of political parties. In 1912, when the Democratic Party members convened in Baltimore to select their presidential standard-bearer, Quezon personally appeared before the Platform Committee and helped in the writing of the plank of the platform dealing with Philippine independence. He also gave banquets to cultivate the friendship of Democratic Party leaders, especially those who were occupying influential posts in Philippine affairs.

To influence American public opinion further, he wrote campaign articles for American magazines and newspapers. Not satisfied with this, he founded his own periodical entitled "The Filipino People" in September 1912. According to him, the organ was intended to be "an official medium for expressing the views of the people whose name it bears and designed to bring about a better understanding in the Philippines and in the United States of the real conditions which exist in both countries." The paper continued publication for four years and was terminated when the passage of the Jones Bill by the United States Congress in August 1916 was certain.

So vigorous and spirited indeed was his campaign for immediate, complete and absolute Philippine independence that, at times, Commissioner Quezon was misunderstood by those elements who opposed him. On one occasion, he was denounced in Congress by Representative Austin of Tennessee of using

money and banquets in order to gain the support of Congressional leaders. At another instance, he was openly warned by General Edwards, then Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, that should he insist on continuing his independence campaign, every effort would be taken to retire him from the resident commissionership.

Undaunted, however, by the charges and the threats hurled at him, he continued his campaign, giving greater vigor to it when the Democratic Party came to power in 1913.

As a consequence of his untiring efforts, Commissioner Quezon was able to obtain results which, though not as much as what he really wanted, --- immediate, complete and absolute independence --- were of great political significance in so far as preparing Filipinos in the art of self-government. In 1913, he secured from President Wilson the appointment of Representative Francis B. Harrison of New York as governor-general of the Islands. Governor Harrison's administration later proved to be a significant phase in the Filipino struggle for independence for it gave substance to the Democratic Party's pledge of Philippine independence by converting the colonial government of Filipinos aided by Americans. Believing that the only way to teach the Filipinos the art of self-government was to let them exercise it, he rapidly Filipinized the government civil service. In fact, Governor Harrison even went to the extent of virtually abandoning his executive powers in order to give the Filipino leaders in the government ample freedom to conduct their own governmental affairs.

A more significant achievement was the Jones Law which Quezon himself considered as the "crowning glory" of his work as resident commissioner. How he was able to obtain the enactment of the law from the United States Congress cannot be told in just a few words. Suffice it to say, however, that he had to use all the influence of his office as resident commissioner, his persuasive eloquence, and his enviable personal magnetism. The difficulties he met and overcame could be imagined by realizing

that it took him seven years to convince the United Congress to approve the law.

The Jones Law provided substantial changes in the administrative structure of the Philippine Government which, in effect, would give greater political responsibility to Filipinos. The preamble of the Law declared it to be "the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence therein." This feature of the law made it the first act of the United States Congress relating to the government in the Islands which explicitly set forth a qualified promise of eventual independence. For that reason, the law was held with great political significance by Filipinos.

From the foregoing discussion it is, therefore, very apparent that Manuel L. Quezon's role as resident commissioner is not at all without significance. For as such, he was the first Filipino Resident Commissioner to serve not only as a mere encyclopedia, giving information to the United States Congress about the real conditions in the Philippines, but as a true and dedicated agent of his people to work for their immediate, complete and absolute independence. Although he failed to accomplish that objective of bringing home independence, yet, in a sense, he succeeded in his work. He was able to lay down the groundwork for the later campaign for Philippine independence in the United States. Aside from that, he obtained some political concessions from the American government which to a large extent enchanted the capacity of his people to maintain their own self-government. More significant, however, was that having secured the approval of the Jones Law in 1916, he, in effect gave greater impetus to the later independence movement which ultimately led to the attainment of freedom from the United States in 1946.

Encouraged by the conditional promise of independence embodied in the Jones Law, the Filipino nationalists stepped up their campaign for independence. From 1919-1933 several independence missions were sent to the United States to

convince the American Government that a stable government had already been established in the Philippines and, therefore, independence should be granted. Out of these missions which were indicative of the more persistent and vigorous independence campaign after 1916, resulted the passage of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law and the Tydings-McDuffie Law, the latter becoming our historic Independence Law. Such being the case, it can be said that as resident commissioner, Manuel L. Quezon, provided the generating force that led to our independence from the United States in 1946. Indeed, as resident commissioner, he planted the seed of independence out of which grew a tree whose fruit has given us the freedom and independence that we enjoy today.

A STRATEGY FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE*

Cesar P. Pobre

On January 20, 2001 a new government was installed headed by Gloria Macapagal Arroyo who committed herself to a program of governance based on four core beliefs, namely, (1) winning the fight against poverty, (2) improving moral standards in government and society as basis for good governance, (3) changing Filipino politics from one of personality and patronage to party program and process of dialogue with the people, and (4) leadership by example.

The paper presents a framework or model of good governance which could serve as a reinforcement or addition to those measures envisioned by President Arroyo's program of government.

*KEYWORDS: Political Parties*Electoral Reform*Citizen Involvement*Local Autonomy*National Unity* Political Decision-Making*Recruitment/Selection of Administrative-Political Officeholders*Bureaucratic Reform*Social Cohesion*Filipino Identity*Filipino Ideology*Economic Growth*Entrepreneurship*

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In 2000, the clamor for President Joseph Ejercito Estrada to step down from office due to alleged incompetence, ill-gotten wealth, activities as an illegal gambling lord, etc. rose to fever pitch. The anti-Erap groups of various persuasions took to the streets to demonstrate against him. They blamed him for the country's woes. The economy was in shambles. The peso was depreciating at an alarming rate. The stock exchange was losing much of the public's confidence. The state of law and order was gravely imperiled by the worrisome incidence of heinous crimes. The MILF was intensifying its terroristic activities.

Remove President Estrada, so those after his scalp argued loudly, and presto, all the nation's ills would disappear. This line of reasoning did not ring a bell insofar as the more perceptive Filipinos were concerned. But it made for good propaganda to support the move for President Estrada's resignation. And lest the more fundamental issues were forgotten and people were led to believe the country could become a land of milk and honey once the Estrada Administration was replaced, the solution to the country's problems was not that simple. President Estrada's alleged mismanagement of governmental affairs might prove to be just about the proverbial tip of the iceberg. The ills affecting the country go far deeper; they are steeped in a complexity of political, economic, and social inequities starkly manifested by the abject poverty the great majority of the people are suffering from.

Now that President Estrada was forced to give up the reins of government, the following questions need to be raised: *Will things really change? Will there be less and not more of the same vices and warped values and attitudes people have been indulging in? Will there be a complete overhaul and not merely a rehash of the old structural and institutional arrangements that have historically denied the many (masses) but not the few (elite) from access to resources and opportunities for economic advancement?*

These questions were, in effect, provided answer by the new President herself, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. In her

inaugural speech on 20 January 2001, she committed herself to a program of government converging on four core beliefs. These are (1) winning the fight against poverty, (2) improving moral standards in government and society as basis for good governance, (3) changing Filipino politics from one of personality and patronage to party program and process of dialogue with the people, and (4) leadership by example. The program hits the nail on the head for it is just about what is indeed to be done. However, it is not something new. It has been spelled out by previous administrations and probably the only difference is that they did not express it as simple and succinct as what President Arroyo has done.

But simple and succinct though her platform is its translation into action programs is not as easy as it may seem. Poverty, graft and corruption and the patron-client kind of politics are rooted in the country's history. They have virtually become the Filipino way of life. It was poverty as a result of economic oppression by the Spanish colonial master that brought about the 1896 Revolution, a revolution which though successful has remained unfinished since its objective was never realized up to now. Graft and corruption may have actually begun from the galleon trade and the patron-client political style which has now become a tradition may have been the off-shoot of the personalistic nature of Filipino culture. Eliminating or at least minimizing poverty, graft and corruption and replacing the kind of politics that we have been practicing would require changing the structures and institutions that developed through the years and which acquired value and stability in the process but which have been the cause as well as the effect of all these fundamental ills.

Instituting the appropriate changes, of course, is an extremely difficult undertaking. For one, any strategy to effect them needs time, its implementation would have to extend beyond President Arroyo's very limited tenure of three years, unless afterwards given by the people more years to serve on the political saddle. But what is significant is that she has outlined the program of change and that the process of implementation by

the time her mandate is over shall have been in such a stage as will give neither rhyme nor reason for any succeeding administration to discontinue it --- unless willing to incur the people's condemnation. The strategy to institute changes could probably take the form of a framework in which good governance is viewed as an equilateral triangle. The sides of the equilateral (to mean equal significance and priority) triangle are (1) economic growth, (2) political reforms, and (3) social cohesion. These components are to be dealt with in a holistic manner.

Political Reforms

Political Parties must espouse and pursue a platform and stand for a set of policies. Acting as conveyor belts, they must engage in (1) promotion of political socialization (shaping of desirable political attitudes), (2) communication of political information, issues and ideas and (3) interest articulation and aggregation.

Electoral Reform must review the electoral process, the synchronization of elections, the tenure and qualification of elected officials, to name a few.

Citizen Involvement in the political process must be encouraged in terms of (1) participant activities to influence formulation of policy and (2) subject activities to help in policy implementation. To be able to do this, there must be a change in the political culture (beliefs, values, attitudes, feelings, etc.) through a better educated and informed citizenry.

Recruitment/Selection of Political and Administrative Officeholders must be devised based on knowledge and skills which are hard to acquire by any means other than education and training. Appropriate qualification standards with a moral dimension should be set.

Political Decision-Making should be brought down to the community and small-group levels --- back to the people ---

to enable citizens to know and grasp the issues and thus act politically in their interest.

National Unity should be promoted by resolving with finality the problem of insurgency by the CPP/NPA and the MILF.

Bureaucratic Reform should be undertaken by making the government machinery lean and highly professional and by reorganizing it to insure the more effective and efficient regulative, extractive, distributive, and symbolic capabilities of the Republic.

Local Autonomy should be strengthened by improving all the laws relative to it.

Social Cohesion

The following steps must be undertaken to achieve this objective:

- Develop a Filipino national identity by promoting the Filipino's conversance with his demographic, geographic, and resource endowments, by widening and intensifying the Filipino's knowledge and appreciation of his cultural, more particularly, historical heritage, and by emphasizing Filipino cultural unity and even geographic unity
- Formulate and promote a Filipino ideology
- Set up infrastructures for socio-cultural integration and interaction

Economic Growth

The suggested steps to achieve this end are the following:

- Start a program of strong entrepreneurship
- Develop the country into an information and communication technology center
- Formulate policies to level the economic playing field to encourage private initiatives
- Provide technical, legal and material assistance for the establishment of more and diversified globally competitive local industries
- Formulate policies to discourage trends towards monopoly or cartel formation
- Provide safety nets for the labor sector
- Erect appropriate infrastructures for the economy's adaptation to economic and trade liberalization
- Devise/implement an agricultural modernization program
- Review the CARP with a view to giving it more teeth and meaning
- Devise a comprehensive and realistic population management program with provisions for health and medical care, ageing and housing
- Put a stop to smuggling of goods and human beings and regulate the influx of service organizations, including the operation of schools by foreigners
- Promote environmental security within the framework of economic development, particularly industrialization

Conclusion

To materialize the strategy for good governance, the national leadership has to have a firm and determined resolve; it has to have political will. This, I believe, the Arroyo Administration has much to commend itself.

NEW TRENDS IN TEACHING HISTORY*

Milagros C. Guerrero

There are important reasons that compel teachers of history to make a fresh appraisal of the purpose and method of teaching history today. Teachers of this generation increasingly meet problems much more difficult than those which confronted earlier generations. They also face challenges and increased responsibilities in a nation beset by seemingly insurmountable problems and in a world undergoing rapid change.

The article gives insights into recent trends in history teaching and indicates the problems and possibilities in teaching history in the country. The article was prepared under the firm belief that "teaching history" is meant history "for use" rather than "history for its own sake."

KEYWORDS: *History* Historical Criticism* Interpretation* Dialectical-Materialist View* Primary Source* Cultural History*

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It is possible to make some assertions on the important place of history in education and the responsibilities of teachers of history in preserving that place in education. We could begin by pointing out that essentially history is an imaginative study in a reconstruction of the past now long gone and therefore could not be studied and scrutinized directly. In the process of studying it, we somehow live in the imagination of some past age. If we adopt this view, then we stand to benefit by acquiring a sense of values between different aspects of life in any given age. Students will be provided a special opportunity for exercising judgment by considering how, for example, economic factors bore on politics, how customs and traditions encroached on state affairs, and finding out which of these were eventually more important. The same approach would also provide the student of history the experience of synthesis of those aspects of life normally dealt with separately by various disciplines in the social sciences and the humanities. By a reconstruction of the past, we can view our present development and see the place of any society in history, distinguish what was merely ephemeral and was enduring, what events were insignificant at a given time but subsequently were to affect many generations.

The second educational benefit peculiar to the study of history comes from balancing the horizontal against the vertical perspective which consists of seeing an age, first in its own right, and then against what came before and what came after it. This problem of achieving equilibrium in considering the past, present, and future is always with us. And for our profit, history, properly studied or taught, gives constant illustration of how different generations have viewed their duties and responsibilities to our society.

The third educational benefit that we can get from the study of history comes from its synthesizing peculiarity. It involves not only the scrutiny of political, economic, and religious aspects of the life of the past but also the scientific developments, literature, and the arts. In this way, history could be used as the basis of a school curriculum that would weave together the various subjects which in the process might

contribute greatly towards breaking down subject barriers and overspecialization.

A Critical View of Current Instructional Methods

A distinguishing feature of much contemporary Philippine history instruction in high school, college and university is the emphasis placed upon an omnipresent, usually well-organized, standard textbook that functions as "the all-important link" between the teacher and the student. The textbook becomes the course of study, the only authority, though more often than not, it is always a bit outdated by the latest developments and interpretative approaches in history. Many say, and not without reason, that the textbook provides but a limited view, in truth, nothing but a "crutch," but there is no denying the fact that many teachers find a single history textbook as the most useful tool in their profession.

Traditional instruction favors the chronological emphasis in the study of history where events are studied from the earliest sources to the most contemporary circumstances. This is certainly a great burden to many teachers of history who are expected to cover the broad expanse of historical development in the Philippines within a full academic year or semester. Seldom has attention turned to organizing history, whether Philippine or any other history course, into units, theses and cohesive topics. Philippine history, for example, is viewed essentially through the binoculars of successive gubernatorial regime during the Spanish and American periods or presidential administrations in the present Republic. Teachers rarely resort to the "microscope" approach for greater depth and almost never use the "telescope" method that requires distillation, comprehension and abstraction of long periods of historical development.

While conscious of the greater objectives of historical study, many teachers continue to cling tenaciously to memorization of dates, names, sequences and statistics as well as obscure details. These teachers are more concerned with the

immediate need of granting a series of academic grades and the long range goals are usually forgotten. Thus, so much attention is given to the details of the Legazpi expedition with little subsequent importance given to the impact that voyage of 1570 had on the Filipino pre-colonial world. Thus, considerable attention is given to the independence missions that went to the United States during the 1920s and the 1930s and their activities there but hardly any time is spent to look into their significance and relevance or lack of it.

One of the most serious criticisms of instruction in history is the selectivity and timidity with which past events are handled. It is quite easy to note the beneficent results of Spanish and American colonial rules in the Philippines because evidences do abound to support some such conclusions. It is quite another matter when students are instructed on the ruthless exploitation of the masses with the institution of forced labor, the *encomienda* system and other colonial practices; when students must trace the continuity of one aspect of life in Philippine society, like perhaps feudalism from its beginnings in the Spanish regime to its condition in contemporary times. One criticism then of instruction in Philippine history is the habit of avoiding controversies, soft-pedaling or de-emphasizing certain aspects of our history that might excite controversy.

Too much emphasis is placed upon political developments while other aspects of social development are neglected. The history of the Philippines is approached generally by tracing the shifting fortunes of colonial powers though a pause is usually made to enable the students to scrutinize the awakening of Filipinos to the political realities of the 19th century and the Revolution of 1896. Instruction is rarely broadened to examine social institutions other than the government and the key personalities attached with it. A society, after all, possesses aspects other than political but many teachers hesitate to enlarge upon them. Economic conditions, for example, receive very little attention, despite recognition of its close association with political developments. The history of trade, of agricultural developments, of foreign communities in

the country, of the church at various stages of Philippine history becomes mere vague backdrops before which the main political events took place.

A part of the remedy would require broader preparation in a variety of disciplines in such social sciences as Geography, Anthropology, Sociology, and Economics. Questions like "What factors contributed to the development of a native intelligentsia class which later on would spearhead the propaganda-reformist movement of the 1880s?" and "What was the nature of the foreign trade with the Philippines and its role in social change?" can be answered adequately as history teachers are better grounded in associated disciplines in the social sciences.

The difficult problem of seeking both quantity and quality always plagues the history teacher --- the problem of whether to opt for the quick memorization of quickly forgotten trivia and sweeping coverage of the "facts" or to come to grips with selected historical themes or periods so that the student acquires a more than speaking acquaintance with one specific point in history.

Some Recent Trends in Teaching History

The conscientious teacher of history is certainly aware that there is no compelling need to rely upon the prescribed textbook. The teacher may combine the chronological, developmental and era method approaches to the study of history in the syllabus if he so desires to make the students aware of the differing characteristic of life in the main historical periods which he constructs as well as to encounter a number of great figures of history.

Admittedly, the problem of getting away from a single standardized text is no small matter. But there is much that history teachers can do to reduce overdependence upon a single text. The answer lies in recourse that should be taken to available primary documents or secondary sources that best reflect the lessons, aspects or details of history that need to be emphasized.

Let me suggest that great value may accrue from serious use of primary sources as adjuncts to the textbook. For example, the French correspondent Edmond Plauchut's account about the Cavite Mutiny of 1872 can make the student understand the political and other far-reaching implications of the execution of the three martyred priests --- Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora. It would also be instructive to take into consideration other teaching aids such as biographies and historical fictions. Because history is about people, what they do and what happens to them, no matter how close the attention of the class to events, institutions and ideas, the teacher of history must come back to the men who performed the deeds, ran and helped evolve these institutions and conceived the ideas. Thus, no study of the Commonwealth Period of the Philippines is complete without a consideration of Manuel L. Quezon, his life, his loves and hates, his public and confidential dealings with Filipino political leaders and American policy makers. Another approach that offers possibilities would be the use of historical fiction. Assuming that the class is studying cultural development under Spain, a reading of the chapter on "The Class in Physics" in Jose Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* would be more enlightening to the student interested in understanding the state of education under Spain.

One other method is the cultural approach to the study of history. It could be used in combination with the chronological, developmental and era approaches. Like the political approach, it considers history as an instrument of regional and national significance, loyalties, allegiances and patriotic attachments, indeed a tool for self-identity. Because the cultural approach involves looking into the history of the mind and character of the people, of the major ideas which appeared to dominate the society or an era, of the institutions with which we associate the conduct and faith of our ancestors, it is popularly regarded as an important tool for understanding cultural developments of the present. The requirements of teaching history from the cultural vantage point are not satisfied by a naked record, viewed chronologically, of what was written, painted, composed or built by a society during a particular era.

These enumerations are all for nought unless the teacher of history knows, understands and could explain the ideas and interests of the entire generation responsible for these achievements and trace their manifestations in the fabric of societies. You can tell the story of the Propaganda-Reformist Period by citing the *Noli Me Tangere* and the *El Filibusterismo*; the activities of the expatriates in Spain, particularly Rizal, Lopez-Jaena and Del Pilar; their demands for reforms and peaceful change but you cannot do justice to that era without bringing in the impact of accelerated foreign trade in the 1850s upon the nascent middle class whose most articulate representatives were the reformists, the impact of liberalism in Europe upon these people and other sectors of Philippine society as well. If we were to discuss the anti-American resistance of Filipino writers during the first decade of the American regime (1900-1910), it is not enough that we cite the "seditious plays" that they wrote, the scathing editorials that were published, but we must also show how the socialistic works of Karl Marx, Bakunin, Fournier, Zola, and Spencer influenced their style and orientation. From these examples, it is clear that the teacher of history who would use the cultural approach is required to acquire a decent familiarity with the history of, and cultural developments in, many countries; to be familiar with the philosophy, literature and arts; and to be wise enough to synthesize them as necessity rises. This is rather difficult, especially for many so used to the more popular political approach.

Another approach that could be used is the dialectical-materialist approach that stems from historical materialism, a theory of social development as originally propounded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The Marxist teacher of history would argue the idea that it is the modes of production and the social relations to which they give rise that determine the consciousness of men, the ideological superstructure of society. In other words, economic relationships are singled out from numerous social relations as the essentially decisive factors in socio-economic formation which is the sum total of social phenomena of processes. Society develops as one socio-

economic formation and is succeeded by another naturally more improved and sophisticated.

It may be observed that teachers of political history who adhere to the Marxist interpretation of social development will not teach purely political history but political history immersed within a considerable amount of economic background for which the teacher would recognize a glaring need to study economic history. But we cannot presume that all other factors may be subsumed into the economic factors. On the contrary, if the teacher must prove the Marxist theory of historical development, then it is necessary that political and cultural history be studied.

The teacher of history should also pay particular attention to yet another material aid in instruction --- local history. The use of local history is doubly important in the Philippines where serious efforts are being expended to discover unknown aspects of our history.

Now what is the particular importance of local history in relation to the nature and purpose of teaching history? My fellow teachers would agree with me that while history in all its aspects is exciting, most students find history lessons dull and uninteresting. One of the reasons for this attitude is the student's remoteness from the lessons of history, the latter having no contact with the student's life and experiences. Local history data may be employed to illustrate national or even international themes precisely to arouse the student's interest. It may take the form of a local survey or it may consist of a detail aspect of the community where the school is located. In this, the teacher would have utilized a device linking the student to his immediate historical past. Moreover, tangible remains of local history often survive and it is this which underlines reality and arouses imaginative sympathy.

Thus, history students in Negros can well understand the impact of foreign trade in the Philippines, the coming of British and American capital to the province, the development of the sugar industry if local history materials were made available to

them or if the history teacher took the extra effort in leading the class to a well-known historic spot, an old trading house perhaps, or if he asked his students to make a study of the oldest and most prominent families who have contributed to the development of their town and province. Trips to the museum and repositories of cultural heritage and other historic spots are an important aspect of instruction in history. Then perhaps, our impressionable youth might really appreciate their country instead of turning their sights on some distant shores.

In selecting and organizing content for courses in history, the teacher must consider other subjects in the social sciences being offered in the school. If the school offers a course in Philippine art which is part of the general curriculum, there is less need to spend much time studying the characteristics of pre-Spanish art and its evolution into colonial art. A careful examination of other social science courses should indicate to the history teacher areas of overlapping and enable him not to spend much time on certain topics, thus providing space for greater depth of study for others.

Another method to make history more interesting is the idea of team teaching. It is premised on the assumption that no one could become an expert in an entire field of Philippine history but can at least be a specialist in a specific period or development. Consequently, certain history subjects could employ a team or a number of professors who agree on the course pattern and the topics or period they each would tackle in teaching the subject. But admittedly, this method could be used only in those schools that are willing to experiment and have enough faculty members who have engaged in post graduate studies that have made them conversant and knowledgeable in certain specific fields of history.

Many students may be ably aided in stimulating their imaginative powers and comprehension of many difficult aspects of history with the help of visual aids. The visual materials that the history teacher might use include pictures, photographs, documents (usually copies of originals), maps, charts, tapes,

films, and periodicals. Use of these aids could be augmented by visits to historical buildings, museums and sites. Visual materials must be employed not only as a means of passive reception of information but as a method by which students criticize, interpret and study that which the visual aid shows in its proper historical context.

It should be easy for the enterprising teacher to collect photographs and various visual aids which span different periods of development in Philippine history. He could build his own collection of photographs from periodicals and magazines. He could avail of reprints of paintings and sculptures and he could use the slides, films and visual aids normally used by humanities and art appreciation subjects.

These approaches and devices will ask much of the teacher of history. They demand a great deal of him beyond the education provided him in college. While he may feel satisfied with his method of teaching and his yellowed notes, he should accelerate his professional reading and initiate historical research himself. He will be refreshed by the exercise and his teaching enriched by the experience.

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ANG BAYAN NG BALER: ISANG KASAYSAYAN*

Epitacio S. Palispis

Baler is a small town located on the northeastern coast of Luzon. It sits at the center of a horseshoe-shaped plain surrounded by the high mountains of the Sierra Madre and Caraballo Ranges. This quaintly-shaped flatland opens up towards the east where it meets the waters of Baler Bay. Further beyond the bay is the great Pacific Ocean.

The article depicts the origins of Baler starting from the time of its founding as a mission outpost of the Franciscans to whose hands the evangelization of the area had been entrusted up to the present as the capital of the Province of Aurora. The article also depicts events and personages which in the beginning were seemingly local in nature but in the end acquired national importance.

*KEYWORDS: Tayabas*El Principe*Tromba Marina*Siege of Baler*La Campana de Baler*Manuel Quezon*Aurora Aragon*

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Alamat ng Bayan

Sang-ayon sa Noceda San Lucar, ang salitang “baler” ay nagbuhat sa salitang “balod” na nangangahulugang “paloma montes” o kalapating bundok. Sinasabi na noong unang panahon, ang uring ito ng ibon ay saganang-saganang matatagpuan sa isang kapatagan, ang kapatagang nasa kasalukuyang pook ng bayan. Ang mga ibong ito ay may laking dalawa hanggang tatlong pulgada ang haba, na bansag din sa ngalang “bato-bato.” Ang paliwanag na ito ang siyang tinatanggap at kinikilala ng Suriang Wikang Pambansa.

Ang Kasaysayan ng Bayan

Kung ating titingnan ang mapa ng ating bansa, mapapansin na ang lalawigang Quezon, na noong una’y bansag sa taguriang “Tayabas,” ay ngayo’y nahahati sa dalawang lalawigan, ang dating lalawigan ng Tayabas sa gawing timog ng Quezon at ang lalawigan ng Aurora, na ipinangalan naman sa Unang Ginang Aurora Aragon Quezon, ang butihing maybahay ng yumaong Pangulong Quezon. Ang lalawigang ito ay lumalagos magbuhat sa hilagang bahagi ng Luzon, sa baybayin ng Pacifico, hanggang sa karatig ng Bikol.

Sinasabi sa ating kasaysayan na noong taong 1578, isang paring Franciscano sa katauhan ni Padre Esteban Ortiz ang dumating sa baybaying bahagi ng Luzon. Siya ang nagsimulang magkalat ng Mabuting Balita sa mga taong taal na taga pookang ito, lalo na sa baybaying bahaging ito ng Luzon. Mapapansin na ang lugar ay halos kagubatan na naliligiran ng matataas na bundok at sa gawing silangan ay matatanaw ang malawak na dagat.

Dito nagsimula ang pagkakaroon ng maliliit na bahayan sa pookan. Isa sa mga bayan sa baybayin ang Baler, na itinatag noong taong 1609, sa pagdadatingan ng mga paring Franciscano na kinabibilangan ng mga batambatang misyonero sa pamumuno ni Padre Blas Palomino na bumagtas ng kasukalan at kagubatan

ng Sierra Madre at sa silangang bahagi ng Bundok Caraballo, karatig ng malawak na karagatan.

Simula noon, nagpatuloy ang mga paring Kastila sa pagkakalat ng Salita ng Diyos sa mga pookang baybaying silangan ng Luzon at sa mga pookan sa kapatagang naliligiran ng kabundukan. Ang ilan pang paring misyonero sa pamumuno ni Padre Francisco de San Antonio ang nagsisunod. Ang gawaing pangmisyong ito ay nagpatuloy maging noong taong 1611. Ang maliliit na pookan na itinatag ng mga paring Franciscano ay pinaunlad at ipinagpatuloy ng ibang grupo ng mga pari, lalo na ng mga Agustiniano at mga Recoletos, na nagsidating sa pookan noong taong 1658. Noong taong 1703, ang pamamahala sa pookan ay ibinalik sa mga paring Franciscano sa kakulangan ng mga paring namamahala sa bayang magkakaratig.

Ang kabayanan ng Baler ay nagsimula sa isang pookan na matatagpuan sa paanan ng bundok Caraballo, sa gawing kanan ng isang ilog na bansag sa taguriang San Jose, na dumadaloy buhat sa kabundukan patungo sa isang look sa gawing silanganin. Ang look na ito ay kilalang "Look ng Baler."

Ang mga unang tao sa bayang ito ay pawang mga magsasaka't mga manggagawa. Iilang pamilya lamang ang unang nanirahan sa lugar na ito. Sa kanilang paghahanap ng ikabubuhay, ang mga taong bayan ay nakarating hanggang sa Gapan sa lalawigan ng Nueva Ecija. Noon, ang bayan ng Baler ay bahagi ng isang pook na may taguriang "El Principe" na sakop ng lalawigang nabanggit, na sinasabing nagsimula noong taong 1595. May mga nagsasabi rin na ang bayang ng Baler ay naging sentrong bayan ng Nueva Ecija. Ito'y nahiwalay lamang sa purok ng "El Principe" nang magkaron ng pamahalaang sibil sa bansa.

Sa pagdaraan ng kasaysayan ng Baler, isang kahindik-hindik na pangyayari ang naganap sa pookan. Noong ika-27 ng Setyembre 1735, nagkaroon ng dambuhalang alon na tinawag na "Tromba Marina" buhat sa Dagat Pacifico na tumabon sa buong kapatagan. Ang pangyayaring ito ay naging sanhi ng pagkamatay

ng napakaraming taong bayan. Ilang pamilya lamang ang nailigtas sa sakuna sa pamamagitan ng paglangoy tungo sa isang gulod na kilalang "Ermita" sa nasasakupang Castillo, na kung saan sila inakay ng kanilang kura-paroko na si Padre Jose de San Rafael na unang nakapansin ng biglang pagliit ng tubig sa karagatan at ang bigla nitong pag-ahon sa kapatagan. Ang mga pamilyang naligtas ay kinabibilangan ng mga Lumasac, Bitong, Carrasco, Poblete at Bijasa. Nang mga sumunod na araw, ang mga naligtas ay bumalik sa kapatagang labi ng sakuna, sa karatig ng kasalukuyang bayan, na tinaguriang "kinagunasan" o "kinagunawan" --- ang pinagyarihan ng sakuna. Ang pook na kanilang piniling pamalagian ay ang kasalukuyang bayan ng Baler.

Noong taong 1798, isang malakas na puwersa ng mga piratang Moro na nagbuhat sa mga pulo ng Ticao at Burias sa gawing timog ng Luzon ang lumusob at nanalanta sa mga baybaying bayan ng Tayabas, isa na rito ang Baler. Ang buong bayan ay kanilang binihag, kasama na ang humigit-kumulang sa 450, kasama ang tatlong pari, isa sa kanila ang ipinagbili ng 20 pesetas at binihag.

Bago pa man lumusob at manalanta ang mga piratang Moro, isang napakatibay na simbahan ang itinayo ng mga taong bayan sa itaas ng gulod na kanilang inialay kay Santa Isabel, na pinaniniwalaang naging patnubay nila sa panahon ng mga sakuna. Ito ay matatagpuan sa itaas ng isang gulod ng Castillo, na tinawag ng mga taong bayang Ermita. Gayon din sa gawing kabayanan, isa ring simbahang gawa sa bato at apog ang itinayo ng mga tao. Ito ay matatagpuan sa pinakapusod ng bayan. Ang simbahang ito ay naging makasaysayang kublihan ng mga kawal Kastila sa kanilang pagtatanggol ng pamahalaang Espanya.

Ganito ang sinasabi tungkol sa simbahang ito ng Baler:

The old town was deserted by its inhabitants, all the houses having been burned. Only the church and the adjoining parish house were standing and had been converted into a fortress by the Spanish garrison which was beleaguered for many months and had

refused to surrender. Hunger and sickness had reduced the garrison from a hundred and fifty men to about fifty and only one of the officers commanding the company remained alive, Lt. Martin.

Emissaries from Manila were sent by the Spanish General ordering them to give up the fight on the grounds that the Philippines was no longer a Spanish territory since the treaty of peace had already been signed between Spain and the United States. The commander of the garrison did not listen to the emissary but instead threatened to shoot him unless he went away. Finally, Aguinaldo agreed to let these Spaniards come out of the church-fortress and go to Manila without surrendering and to carry all their rifles.

Samakatwid, ang simbahan ng Baler ay ginawang pananggalang ng mga kawal Kastila, humigit-kumulang sa animnapung katao na silang naglingkod at nagtanggol sa bansang Kastila hanggang sa kahuli-huliang pagkakataon. Sinasabi na noong Hunyo 27, 1898 hanggang Hulyo 2, 1899 ay nagkaroon ng pagsasagupaang nangyari sa bayan. At ang simbahan ng Baler ang siyang kanilang (Kastila) kublihan sa kanilang pakikipaglaban. Sa loob ng simbahan namalagi ang mga kawal. Noo'y walang kaalaman ang buong bansa, liban sa pook na ito, na hanggang sa mga huling sandali ay nagwawagayway ang watawat ng Espanya, at ito'y nangyari sa tore ng simbahan ng Baler.

Ang lumang simbahan ito ng Baler ay tumagal hanggang noong taong 1939 kung kailan halos gumuho na ang mga piraso ng bato at ang buo nitong kalakhan. Dito rin mismo sa pook na ito itinayo ang kasalukuyang simbahan ng Baler, na noong una'y nagtataglay ng isa sa pinakamalaking kampana, ang tinawag na "La Campana de Baler," na noong 1950s ay ibiniyahe patungong Madrid sa Espanya kung saan nanalo ang isang "documentary film" na may pamagat na "La Campana de Baler."

Sa isang dokumentong pambayan ay pinuri ni Heneral Emilio Aguinaldo ang lakas na pagtatanggol ng mga huling kawal ng Kastila sa pamamagitan ng simbahan ng Baler. Ang mga kawal ding ito, matapos na bumalik sa Espanya, ay pinapurihan ni Haring Alfonso XIII at ng buong bansang Espanya dahil sa kanilang kadakilaan.

Sa panahon din ng mga Kastila, sa kasiklaban ng digmaan at pag-aalsa ng mga Pilipino laban sa pamahalaang Kastila ay may isang mahalagang nangyari sa bayang ito, nang noong Setyembre 3, 1897 ay magkaroon ng isang "blood compact" na ginanap ng mga Katipunero sa sityo ng Dicaloyungan sa nayon ng Zabali sa bayang ito. Ito ay isinagawa ng mga Katipunero na pinamunuan ng mga pawang taga-Baler, gaya nina Teodoro Novicio, Isabelo Palispis, Antero Amatorio at iba pang pawang mga taga-Baler.

Sa maliit na bayang ito, isang magandang hinaharap ang natanaw, nang noong ika-19 ng Agosto taong 1878 ay isinilang si Manuel Luis Quezon buhat sa isang ginagalang na pamilya nina Lucio Quezon at Maria Dolores Molina. Buhat sa bayang ito, na tinaguriang "isang munting talang naliligo sa liwanag ng pang-umagang araw," ay sumibol ang batang si Manuel Luis, na nakilala bilang "Ama at Tagapagtanggol ng Katarungang Panlipunan," Unang Pangulo ng Pamahalaang Komonwelt sa bansa, at "Ama ng Wikang Pambansa."

Noong una pa man, ang bayan ng Baler ay hindi nagkaroon ng pamalagiang pari upang mangalaga sa pangkaluluwang pangangailangan ng mga taong bayan. Taong 1947 nang magkaroon ng katuparan ang pangarap ng mga tao nang magkaroon ng misyon sa pookan. Natatandaan pa ng mga may edad sa bayan na noong taong 1929 pa nang huling magkaroon ng isang pamalagiang pari sa pook sa katauhan ni Padre Rapinan. Matapos iyon, hindi na nagkaroon ng pamalagiang pari ang lugar. Noong taong 1947, dumating ang mga misyonerong paring Carmelita, na pawang mga dayuhan, sa paanyaya ni Donya Aurora Aragon Quezon.

Taong 1952 nang malikha ang malalawigan (sub-province) ng Aurora, na pinangalan kay Donya Aurora Aragon Quezon, maybahay ng yumaong Pangulong Quezon, na isa ring taga-Baler. Noong taong 1979, naging ganap na lalawigan ang Aurora.

Mga Makasaysayang Pook at Pangyayari sa Bayan

Ang ilang makasaysayang lugar sa bayang ito ay kinabibilangan ng pook sinilangan ng yumaong Pangulong Quezon, gayon din ang bahay sinilangan ng kanyang Unang Ginang, Donya Aurora Aragon Quezon. Gayon din ang kanilang bahay pahingahan sa gitna ng Kabundukang Sierra Madre na ngayo'y kilala bilang Villa Aurora.

Matatagpuan pa rin ang labi ng isang maliit na kapilya sa tuktok ng gulod Ermita na matatagpuan sa may Munting Gasang sa Barangay zabali, sa gawing silangan ng bayan.

May ilang makasaysayang lugar din sa loob ng bayan, sa alaala ng mga bayaning nagtanggol sa panahon ng Kastila, na nangamatay sa himagsikang Kastila noong Octubre 4, 1897.

Sa harapan ng pamahalaang bayan naroroon ang bantayog ni Rizal na itinayo sa pagtataguyod ng mga Damas Legionarias at Legionarios del Trabajo de Baler, Tayabas noong Octubre 19, 1933. Nasa hanay ng bantayog ni Rizal ang kay Quezon na itinayo noong 1961.

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A SENSE OF NATIONAL DESTINY: HISTORICAL- SPIRITUAL PERSPECTIVES*

Pablo S. Trillana III

What do we find in our nation today? Excessive materialism and commercialism have reduced religion to mere ritual for many Filipinos. Spirituality is often triggered only by a desperate need for divine intervention to sort out overwhelming problems.

The article examines spirituality as the soul of pre-colonial Filipinos but which has been underplayed through the impact of the historical experience. The article advances the idea that Filipinos can re-discover their sense of harmony and community as a nation by going back to their forebears' view that the external world can only be as good or as pure as the inner self of every individual.

KEYWORDS: *Filipino Spirituality*Kalinisan ng Loob*Damayan*Kalayaan*Laya*Layaw*Katipunan*Cofradia de San Jose*Sagrada Familia*Guardia de Honor*Katipunan*Colorum*Santa Iglesia*Pulahanes*Dios Dios*Sakdal*

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Filipino Spirituality: Ancient Roots

The pre-colonial inhabitants of the archipelago were inherently spiritual. They saw themselves as part of nature which was created by one Supreme God who reigned over lesser gods. In their worldview, the spiritual and the material were inseparable. As long as everyone maintained purity of the inner self (*kalinisan ng loob*), it followed that the external order (family, community, society and nature) would remain in harmony. Conversely, the value of *damayan* (compassion and reciprocal assistance) reinforced these inner connections within members of the community. Their society was not egalitarian, but strict ethical norms governed their relations with one another and with other peoples. Prayerful, respectful and industrious, the natives were known for their honesty in dealing with visiting traders from other lands.

Spanish Era: Emergence of Folk Catholicism

The Spanish conquest saw the imposition of colonial rule and the Catholic faith on the native populace, who were herded into *pueblos debajo de las campanas* (under the church bells) for closer religious supervision and easier collection of tribute. Through the friars, the natives imbibed the foreign faith and culture on their own terms. This bred a folk version of Catholicism that hewed closely to their ancient beliefs.

The *conquistadores* divided the indigenous society. They pitted tribes against one another in their "reduction" campaigns. They co-opted the *datus* by appointing them *cabezas de barangay* and *gobernadorcillos*, creating an exploitive *principalia* class that served as a colonial adjunct.

Not only were the natives --- now called *indios* --- driven from their original homes, massive tracts of land were granted to *insulares* and *mestizos*, as well as the clerical orders, under the *encomienda* system. This, along with the shift from sustenance farming to export-oriented agriculture, planted the seeds of an onerous landlord-tenant arrangement within a feudal society.

The natives were also cast apart from their environment. From their colonial master's viewpoint, nature was no longer there to nurture people within a unified ecosystem --- it was now meant to be exploited for economic gain.

This violation of their spirit world, coupled with the oppressive conditions and friar abuses in the colony, sparked a series of uprisings led by charismatic spiritual leaders who often adopted sacred names and royal titles.

Among the earliest recorded revolts were those led by Tamblot, a *babaylan* (spiritualist), to protest Jesuit hamletting in Bohol in 1622 which inspired the uprising led by Bankaw in Leyte. The Spaniards recruited Cebuanos to put down both uprisings.

In 1663 Tapar, another *babaylan*, led attacks on town centers in Panay. He called himself "God Almighty," two aides "Christ" and "the Holy Spirit," and a female associate "*Maria Santisima*" --- indicating the folk Catholic character of the revolt.

There followed many other similar revolts, including those led by Maniago of Pampanga, Malong of Pangasinan, Gumapos of Zambales, Almazan of Ilocos, Dagohoy of Bohol and Sumuroy of Samar.

The first major "religious" movement that unnerved Spanish authorities was called the *Hermanidad de la Archicofradia del Glorioso Señor San Jose y de la Virgen del Rosario* (Brotherhood of the Great Sodality of the Glorious St. Joseph and of the Virgin of the Rosary), popularly known as the *Cofradia de San Jose*. Founded as a brotherhood-association among the natives in 1832 by Apolinario de la Cruz or Hermano Pule, a young preacher, the movement started out as one of many sodalities (*cofradias*) that were used as a means of Christian consolidation. By 1839-1840, the *Cofradia* had grown in number with branches in many towns in Tayabas, Laguna, Batangas, and Cavite.

Fearful of the group's growing influence, the curate of Lucban, Tayabas, accused the *Cofradia* of engaging in heretical activities. De la Cruz tried to seek ecclesiastical and civil recognition but was slapped an order of excommunication in 1840. After a civil petition failed to prosper, there ensued witch hunts of *Cofradia* members, forcing them to seek refuge on the slopes of Mount San Cristobal in Tayabas where de la Cruz was proclaimed "king."

In their mountain enclave, the peasant members sought to establish a society of brotherly love. They used the friar-instituted practice of a sodality as a vehicle for their native tradition of striving for *kalinisan ng loob* through prayers, devotions, equanimity in the face of tribulations, and *damayan*.

The *Cofradia* rituals were dominated by the themes of the passion of Jesus Christ --- his humble life, suffering, death, and resurrection --- as instilled by the friars, but this time within a philosophy of redemption from colonial oppression. The subversive nature of their beliefs prompted a quick reaction: in October 1841, colonial troops attacked the encampment and killed hundreds of *Cofradia* members. De la Cruz escaped to Sariaya, Tayabas, but was eventually turned in by disillusioned followers. After his trial and execution, his head was put on display as a warning to other "heretic" natives.

The *Cofradia de San Jose* presaged the mass-based Philippine nationalist movement that surfaced in the 1890s. The group's remnants continued making pilgrimages to the sacred mountains of San Cristobal and Banahaw. Living by the teachings of Hermano Pule, the group later came to be known as the *Colorums*.

There was also the *Guardia de Honor de Nuestra Señora del Santa Rosario* or *Guardia de Honor de Maria*. Formed by the Dominicans in Manila, the group held prayer rallies and processions in honor of the Mother of God and spread to the provinces. In the rebellious Ilocos region of the 1800s, the *Guardia de Honor* evolved into a cult. Julian Baltazar or Apo

Laqai, an *anitero* (animist) from Urdaneta, Pangasinan, emerged as spiritual leader, warned of an imminent day of divine judgment, and set up a virtually autonomous state in a *sitio* called Cabaruan.

In Mt. Arayat around 1890, there emerged a group called *Gabinistas*, led by Gabino Cortes of Pampanga. After Cortes was arrested and exiled to Jolo in 1893, Felipe Salvador of Baliwag, Bulacan reorganized the peasant group and renamed it *Santa Iglesia*.

In Leyte, Papa Faustino Ablen, a peasant, led a religious cult called *Dios-Dios*. His capture in 1887 unleashed peasant resentment against the existing order. Tension between the *abaca*-growing peasants and coastal traders broke into open conflict. A similar *Dios-Dios* cult was formed in Samar by Papa Pablo Bulan.

The *Ilustrado* Paradigm

By the mid-19th century, scions of *mestizo* and *principalia* families emerged as a new *ilustrado* class that enjoyed wealth, social status, and a liberal education. Imbibing Western ideas like liberty and equality from Europe, the *ilustrados* pressed for reforms in their homeland. Initially, most of them simply aspired to be on equal footing with the Spaniards, with the Philippines possibly gaining representation in the Spanish Cortes.

The more passionate among the *ilustrados* --- including Dr. Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena, to name a few --- examined the Philippine condition more deeply and sought far-reaching reforms to address problems like social injustice, massive illiteracy, and friar abuse. These propagandists eventually dreamed of an independent state, free from colonial fetters to chart its own destiny. They gave birth to the idea of a Philippine nation and, in that sense, earned the right to be called the first Filipinos.

In contrast, there were the dispossessed, unlettered, and abused *indios* who articulated their dreams for their native land through the simple language of their faith. Their concept of *kalayaan* (freedom) sprang from a fervent longing to restore *laya* and *layaw* --- a life of nurture made possible by a caring Motherland. By cleansing themselves through their own *pasyon*, they could attain collective redemption.

Andres Bonifacio picked up where Apolinario de la Cruz left off by integrating and articulating the themes and messages of the *pasyon* into a coherent framework for national salvation that common folk could relate to. In July 1892, he organized the *Kataas-taasan, Kagalang-galang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan*, the secret nationalist society that would lead the revolution against Spain. The *Katipunan's* initiation rituals served to test each recruit's readiness to make extreme sacrifices and to cleanse himself to redeem the Motherland.

Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto, the "Brains of the *Katipunan*," both stressed *kalinisan ng loob* or inner transformation as the essential foundation of the struggle. They called for "a dying to a state of darkness" --- an end to ignorance and bad habits in order to enable the people to see through the deception of their colonizers. They held Rizal in high esteem because this particular *ilustrado* was willing to make the ultimate sacrifice for his country and wished for its moral and material development.

Losing the Thread

With the death of Bonifacio after he lost in the power struggle against General Emilio Aguinaldo, the spiritual dimension of the Revolution receded in favor of the preeminent goal of winning political independence.

When Aguinaldo's army sought the support of the *Guardia de Honor*, Apo Laqai opted to remain neutral after discerning weak religious foundations in the Tagalog-led Revolution. However, his successor, Antonio Valdez, would

later organize guerrilla units to wage war against any force that would undermine their cause. The *Guardia's* attacks on towns and *haciendas* in 1898 precipitated civil strife between the socio-economic classes in the region.

On the other hand, the *Santa Iglesia* under Felipe Salvador allied with Aguinaldo's forces and started harassing Spanish garrisons in 1898. Salvador would rise to the rank of colonel in the Revolutionary Army. Apolinario Mabini, Aguinaldo's most eminent adviser, never lost sight of the spiritual side of their struggle. In "A Mis Compatriotas" (April 1898), he wrote:

In order to build the proper edifice of our social regeneration, it is imperative that we change radically not only our institutions but also our manner of behaving and thinking. It is necessary to have both external and internal revolution by establishing our moral education on a more solid foundation and purging ourselves of those vices, the majority of which we have inherited from the Spaniards."

Unfortunately, the first Philippine Republic was too short-lived to manifest any depth of commitment to the spiritual uplift of the nation. What is known is that Aguinaldo forecast on June 3, 1898 that beyond establishing the first republic in Asia, the Filipino people were destined "for greatness and to be one of the instruments of Providence to govern the destinies of mankind."

The entry of the United States at the turn of the century sent the Revolutionary Army back on war footing against the new colonial masters. But with political independence on top of the Filipino agenda, it became easy for the Americans to eventually win over the local elite with their brand of democracy.

What proved more recalcitrant were the peasant movements that carried on the struggle.

Felipe Salvador of the *Santa Iglesia* was convicted of sedition in 1902 but escaped to Mt. Arayat and, styling himself as an invincible "Robin Hood," recruited people to his new spiritual movement. By 1903, his army was spread across Pampanga, Bulacan, Pangasinan, and Tarlac. The government declared war against the *Santa Iglesia* as well as other groups like the *Colorum* and the mystical *Sagrada Familia*, and eventually captured Salvador who was hanged on April 15, 1912.

Meanwhile, Leyte's *Dios-Dios* fielded an army of *Pulajanes* (reds) under "messianic" Papa Faustino to conduct raids and ambushes against the Constabulary from their forest hideouts.

As "normalcy" began to set in, the Americans introduced major improvements in public health, education and infrastructure while presenting themselves as able mentors in the ways of republican government. But the grossly inequitable social landscape remained unchanged.

The American colonial government tried to address the land-tenure issue by offering large parcels of Church-owned land for public sale. Unfortunately, the peasants who most needed the land became victims of usury and fraud, allowing *hacenderos* and other big landowners to amass even more real estate. One of these was Manuel Tinio, former general in the Filipino Revolutionary Army, who acquired several hectares of public land in Nueva Ecija to add to his landholdings in Talavera, Nueva Ecija. He took on more tenants to convert virgin forests and meadows into rice lands, thereby multiplying the value of his property. With his new wealth came the status of having so many tenants under his wing. This translated into political power. The ex-general was elected provincial governor in 1908.

Meanwhile, across the country the peasants' plight became even more desperate. This ignited a new wave of "religious" and political uprisings and activities by groups like the *Colorum* sects around the country. In 1924, a sect leader

predicted a judgment day that sparked a revolt in northeastern Mindanao.

On Panay Island, Florencio Entrencherado crowned himself Florencio I, Emperor of the Philippines, and assembled an army of some 10,000 peasants in western Visayas by late 1926. In May 1927, he announced that "the hour will come when the poor will be ordered to kill all the rich."

The tenancy problem was worse in Central Luzon. The *Colorum*-inspired Tayug insurrection in 1931 was among the last with religious or messianic overtones. Peasant movements drifted from their spiritual moorings and began to be ideological in character. Thus arose groups like the *Sakdalistas*, the Socialist Party, and the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas.

Futile Search for Alternative Threads

This indicated a growing Westernization of precepts. The alternative to democracy and free enterprise was communism and socialism. Holistic concerns gave way to obsessions with political and economic rights and freedoms and social justice. Development began to be gauged in terms of economic metrics like GDP, GNP, and per capita income. Various forms of "class struggle" became manifest in peasant, labor, and student movements, creating a highly antagonistic and confrontational social order. From the core of existence for the Filipino soul, spirituality was largely relegated to rhetoric.

From the Japanese Occupation emerged the largest peasant-based guerrilla force, the *Hukbalahap* or *Huks*, which evolved from anti-Japanese fighters to armed advocates of social justice. But even Luis Taruc, the socialist-leaning *Huk Supremo*, betrayed residual spiritual beliefs from his peasant origins when he said: "It is love that prompts a man to lay down his life for the sake of his loved ones --- and those must include even the most unlovable of his fellowmen. Such love, emanating from God, is the most powerful driving force guiding man to moral behavior.

True love is selfless; it is capable of surviving the limits of suffering and self-sacrifice."

In 1946, the Philippines achieved the political independence it longed for, but this proved meaningless to most Filipinos who would suffer under the yoke of poverty and inequity for decades to come. Energies were poured into developing the materials of society and not society itself.

In 1972, President Ferdinand Marcos declared nationwide martial law on the pretext of containing twin rebellions --- communist and secessionist --- and building a "New Society." There was an attempt to create a Filipino ideology built around the concept of a "Revolution from the Center." While intellectually stimulating, the concept proved hollow for lack of the spiritual essence of the Filipino. Marcos tried to mask a regime of plunder and naked power through a technocratic government and pervasive propaganda. But, after more than a decade of acquiescence, the Filipino people saw through the ruse, eventually overcame their fear and rejected the morally bankrupt dictatorship.

Recovering the Thread

The assassination of charismatic opposition figure Benigno (Ninoy) Aquino upon his return to Manila from exile struck a spiritual chord that would reverberate as People Power. The political opposition came to life, and the upper and middle classes broke their indifference amid streams of yellow confetti. Cory Aquino, the widow who symbolized the antithesis of corrupt and immoral governance, rose to prominence on this massive wave of *damayan* which reached its crescendo before, during and after the snap presidential elections of February 1986.

Filipinos of all ages and from all walks of life made enormous risks and sacrifices to protect their vote, the ballots and their future. The supreme test came when they were called upon to protect a group of military defectors at EDSA by standing in the way of approaching tanks and government troops.

From February 22 to 25, the men, women and children at EDSA and listening to rebel radio stations felt a deep spiritual bond that echoed the courage and unity of the revolutionaries nearly a hundred years before. Remarkably, the bloodless revolution succeeded and democracy was restored.

The phenomenon came to be known as People Power and would inspire similar movements all over the world --- from South Africa to Berlin to the Soviet Union.

Towards a Sense of National Destiny

But, sadly, the moral initiative was not sustained. Four successive administrations were unable to score substantial breakthroughs against age-old issues that have weighed down on Philippine development.

Could EDSA have been just a brief, shining moment? Only if we close our eyes to the historical thread that links it to the spiritual aspirations of our ancestors.

Both those events of 1896 and 1986 were inclusive and redemptive. They witnessed the breaking down of barriers between classes and creeds to celebrate a common humanity and to realize common aspirations. But both times, the process of social transformation was aborted because it was not carried through to the level of personal commitment to internal change. This harks back to our forebears' view that the external world can only be as good or as pure as the *loob* of every individual.

What do we find in our nation today? The glaring poverty, inequity and corruption are but symptoms of a more basic problem in the Filipino cultural context. And this is the fundamental "disconnect" that has ruptured our society. This gap exists at many levels: between spirituality and material pursuits, among socio-economic classes, within families.

Excessive materialism and commercialism have reduced religion to mere ritual for many Filipinos. Spirituality is often

triggered only by a desperate need for divine intervention to sort out overwhelming problems. For prayer and religiosity to be truly meaningful, we need to remember Jose Rizal's admonition to the Women of Malolos in February 1889: "*...ang kabanalan ay hindi ang matagal na luhod, mahabang dasal, malalakeng kuintas, libaging kalmen, kundi ang mabuting asal, malinis na loob at matuid na isip.*"

More than wealth and material comforts separate the rich and middle class from the poor. Limited opportunities for education and cultural enrichment across generations of poor families have spawned a worldview that is oceans apart from the sophisticated perspectives of the learned sectors. The poor tend to be more intuitive rather than rational, making it difficult for most of us to comprehend their choices and decisions.

In the choice of national leaders, for instance, it baffles most of us why the so-called "DE market" would even consider electing a high school dropout to the presidency. That's because while most of us primarily look for intellectual prowess and professional competence in candidates, the poor seek sincerity and sensitivity to their needs. Spiritually, therefore, we are not feeling, thinking, and functioning as one people.

At a micro level, Filipino families are no longer as stable and as whole. The pressures of survival are shifting their focus away from living to just making a living, resulting in an emptiness of spirit. It is estimated that one in four Filipino homes today is missing one or both parents --- some due to broken families, others due to overseas work.

The Filipino diaspora manifests an innate resource that is only being tapped to serve individual ends: our people's capacity for great sacrifice and hard work. In the same vein, it has long been known that the Philippines is a center of "mystic" healing. Foreigners visit the country regularly to see our "faith healers" or simply to re-energize their spirit. Again, this indicates a resource --- a rich reservoir of spiritual energy --- that can be harnessed for social mobilization and change.

For these gifts to translate to our nation's enrichment, *damayan* has to be sustained. Those among the privileged have to exert a conscious effort to re-connect with their less fortunate brethren, to empower them and to bring them from the margins to the mainstream of national life. Driven by compassion and not by selfish interests, individual Filipinos can re-discover their sense of harmony and community as a nation. Purity of heart, in turn, will create irresistible demand for moral governance and a national purpose. In the process, we can be one people again, united in spirit and vision.

A sense of higher or national purpose diminishes the danger that people's lives would revert to or be pervaded by greed, debasement or corruption. In his "Kartilya," Emilio Jacinto wrote: "*Ang buhay na hindi ginugugol sa isang malaki at banal na kadahilanan ay kahoy na walang lilim, kundi (man) damong makamandag.*"

Nationalism and purity of heart go hand-in-hand in the Philippine context of spirituality. In his "Dekalogo," Andres Bonifacio equated love of the native land as the purest form of homage to God: "*Gunamgunamin sa sarili tuwina na ang matapat na pagsampalataya sa Kanya ay ang pag-ibig sa lupang tinubuan sapagkat ito ang tunay na pag-ibig sa kapwa.*"

Like our *ilustrado* forebears, most of us carry a subconscious Western bias in our perspectives due to our academic training. Hence, we tend to underplay the impact of spiritual elements in historical, political and developmental analysis. We, in fact, tend to dismiss the mystics and messianic leaders --- which our history is replete with --- as laughable, if not insane, or quaint at best. After all, most of them had been unschooled and did not articulate the predominantly Western precepts that we are accustomed to.

Yet, influential elements of contemporary Western philosophy are veering toward the opposite direction. In analyzing the relative strengths of peoples and nations, they look beyond the geographic, cultural and technological factors that

have defined earlier stages of advancement. Eclectic thinkers like Ken Wilber are revisiting the intuitive wisdom of the ancient sages of the East who, like the leaders of the millenarian movements here, intuitively integrated the spiritual and material aspects of their being. Wilber theorizes that civilization's ultimate destination may be to "ascend" toward transcendental spirituality as humanity's highest level of consciousness.

Just as the whole history of the Jews seems to be a continuous re-enactment of Exodus --- bondage, liberation by God's grace, service to God --- so too is the history of the Filipino people a recurring playback of passion and redemption. The Jews, by living in cadence with the beat of their soul as "the Chosen People," have endured severe crises throughout their history and have reached heights of excellence in virtually every field of human endeavor. We Filipinos, on the other hand, have not exercised our individual and collective will to make the promise of redemption a reality by leading the way toward authentic moral citizenship and governance.

That is our national destiny and the ultimate window of enlightenment that we shall open to the world.

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HISTORICAL AGENCIES: NATIONAL *HYSTERICAL* INSTITUTE*

Ambeth Ocampo

Painted black and with raised letters, heavy bronze historical markers dot many places in the country. The seal of the Republic of the Philippines that crowns the marker commands their respect. These historical markers remind people where historic events have happened or where historical persons were born or died.

The article surveys the role that government through its historical agencies has played in commemorating deeds of Filipino heroes and more importantly, in bringing Philippine History closer to the ordinary citizen.

KEYWORDS: Historical Marker Philippine Historical Research and Markers Committee* Philippines Historical Committee* National Historical Institute*

- Keynote Address delivered at the 2007 PHA Annual Conference held at the National Library of the Philippines on September 18, 2007

If proof is needed of Filipino creativity, one simply has to take the Edsa-Ayala or the Edsa-Kalayaan flyovers and take note of the missing steel railings. Surely, these safety railings were not stolen for souvenirs. They could not be used in homes and they were probably melted for scrap metal. I marvel that something fixed to the ground can be stolen so easily. It requires special technical knowledge and equipment to remove these from the flyover, and, of course, a waiting vehicle to cart away the loot. How is this done without anyone noticing? Now, that is magic comparable to Houdini's.

Another favorite of steel collectors happen to be those heavy metal manhole covers that also disappear, posing hazards to cars and pedestrians especially during the rainy season. While manholes are more appealing in design than steel railings, I think they also end up as scrap metal.

When I think of all of these, I wonder why the heavy bronze historical markers that dot many places in the country are still in place. Perhaps, these impressive markers painted black and with raised letters remind people of tombstones. Maybe the seal of the Republic that crowns the marker commands respect.

These markers remind us where historic events happened or where historical persons were born or died. Over the years, I have seen and read texts on these markers and noted that they were installed by either the Philippines Historical Committee or the National Historical Institute.

The present National Historical Institute (NHI) to which I often refer in jest as the National Hysterical Institute was established in 1972 as part of the government reorganization resulting from Ferdinand Marcos declaring martial law and ruling by decree from Malacañang. The change from Commission to Institute gave the agency an academic rather than official character and emphasized its research and educational role. The NHI integrated all the functions, personnel and property of various post-war commissions set up to commemorate the birth centennials of heroes of the late 19th

century such as Rizal, Bonifacio, Mabini, Luna, Burgos, etc.

Aside from reminding Filipinos about the deeds of our great men in history, the NHI was also given the responsibility for the preservation of historical sites, monuments and landmarks which explains why the agency is often in the eye of controversy regarding heritage protection. Interestingly, the present NHI traces its roots to the Philippine Historical Research and Markers Committee (PHRMC), created in 1933 by US Governor General Frank Murphy through Executive Order 451 and whose main task was to identify and mark "historic antiquities" in the capital, Manila, and later throughout the Philippines as a first step in their preservation. The NHI preserves a small notebook with the handwritten minutes of meetings and from this manuscript, we get the names of the committee members: Walter Robb, an American journalist interested in the history of Manila as chair; the pioneering prehistorian of the Philippines, Henry Otley Beyer, who also dabbled in history, the Spanish Fr. Miguel Selga, S.J. who is better known for his work in the Manila Observatory, and a certain Dean Edward Hyde of whom we know next to nothing. The Filipino members of the committee had names recognizable to anyone doing Filipiniana research: Jaime C. de Veyra, Conrado Benitez and Eulogio B. Rodriguez.

Going through the names and their discussions, I realized this was worth closer scrutiny. What guided them in their choices? What places did they consider "historical"? Did the Filipinos and foreigners agree on their choices?

When the Philippine Commonwealth was established in 1935, the PHRMC was replaced by the Philippines Historical Committee. The latter had basically the same functions as the former, but it had the additional responsibility of acquiring antiquities owned by private individuals and repairing government owned antiquities. Unfortunately, the documentation on the committee is scanty.

Similarly lost to history is the work of the committee

during the Japanese Occupation, when it was placed under the Commission of Education, Health and Public Welfare (whatever that means). Obviously, people were more occupied with survival to think of history during the war, so six months after independence and the inauguration of the Third Philippine Republic on Jan. 20, 1947, the Philippines Historical Committee was reconstituted and placed first under the Office of the President and later transferred to the Department of Education.

The PHC was very active when the country was rebuilding from the ashes of the war. It was a time not just for physical reconstruction but also the reconstruction of the past to form nationhood. Over 400 markers were installed all over the archipelago by the PHC, and it acquired places and relics of heroes such as the present Mabini Shrines in Tanauan, Batangas and Nagtahan, Manila; the ruins of Juan Luna's birthplace in Badoc, Ilocos Norte.

The PHC also caused the construction of a replica of the Rizal home in Calamba and collected about 600 items of rare Rizaliana now stored at the National Library. Did this result in Rizal becoming the prime national hero?

For the past 74 years, the Philippines has had an agency mandated to identify and mark historical places. This has resulted in hundreds of historical markers all over the archipelago, from Tawi-Tawi in the south to Batanes in the north, where a number of markers already approved are waiting to be installed. These markers are not only reminders of historic events but also proof of the development in historical research, interpretation and thinking. Contrary to popular belief, history can also change, and this act of revisiting and revising the past is a hotly debated part of the historian's mandate.

On January 24, 1973, four months after he declared martial law and began to rule by decree, Ferdinand Marcos issued Presidential Decree 105 declaring established national shrines as sacred or hallowed places and protected these and those that would be declared as shrines in the future from acts of

desecration. Thus, it was forbidden to disturb the peace of these shrines by noise, excavation, or unbecoming acts (whatever that meant). Furthermore, Marcos defined fines and prison terms for those who desecrated these shrines. At the time specific mention was made of the following:

“... the birthplace of Dr. Jose Rizal in Calamba, Laguna; Talisay, Dapitan City, where the hero was exiled for four years; Fort Santiago, Manila, where he was imprisoned in 1896 prior to his execution; Talaga, Tanauan, Batangas, where Apolinario Mabini was born; Pandacan, Manila, where Mabini’s house in which he died, is located; and the Aguinaldo Mansion in Kawit, Cavite, where Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, first President of the Philippines, was born, and where Philippine Independence was solemnly proclaimed on June 12, 1898; Batan, Aklan, where the ‘Code of Kalantiyaw’ was promulgated in 1433; etc.”

If we are to sing the Sesame Street song, “one of these things is not like the other,” it is the last mentioned that has turned out to be problematic. Once a source of national pride, the Philippines Historical Committee in 1956, at the request of the Municipal Council of Batan, Aklan, installed a bronze marker in the area that reads:

CODE OF KALANTIAW

“DATU BENDAHARA KALANTIAW, THIRD CHIEF OF PANAY, BORN IN AKLAN, ESTABLISHED HIS GOVERNMENT IN THE PENINSULA OF BATANG, ‘AKLAN SAKUP.’ CONSIDERED THE FIRST FILIPINO LAWGIVER, HE PROMULGATED ABOUT 1433 A PENAL CODE NOW KNOWN AS CODE OF KALANTIAW CONTAINING 18 ARTICLES. DON MARCELINO ORILLA OF ZARAGOZA, SPAIN, OBTAINED THE

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT FROM AN OLD
CHIEF OF PANAY WHICH WAS LATER
TRANSLATED INTO SPANISH BY RAFAEL
MURVIEDO YZAMANAY.”

A Kalantiaw Shrine and Museum was established in Batan, numerous streets were named after this legendary or, should we say mythical figure, and, more importantly, a state decoration, the Order of Kalantiaw, was established and conferred on retiring Supreme Court justices.

Then, in 1968, William Henry Scott proved that the Code of Kalantiaw was a forgery made in the early 20th century. As an issue of academic history and historiography, it was easy to settle. But the truth was an assault on the pride of Aklan, particularly of the municipality of Batan, and so it took over three decades for Kalantiaw to be officially declared a forgery. This happened in 2002 when the National Historical Institute (NHI) Board declared it to be so. As a result of this, there was a move to close the Kalantiaw Shrine, or at least, to re-tool the museum into a Museum of Aklan History.

In this example, we clearly see how history crosses over from the academic to the political and how myth has a stronger hold on the people's imagination than historical truth. Nobody even notices that the name is also a problem. The prefix “Ka” is usually a mark of pre-colonial nobility, and hence this legendary datu is Ka Lantiaw. According to Chinese-Filipinos, the word “lantiauw” is the vulgar word for testicles.

In 2003, the NHI authorized the transfer of a historical marker for the site of the first shot of the Philippine-American War from San Juan Bridge to a little-known street corner in Silencio corner Sociego Streets, Sta. Mesa, Manila. San Juan lost not just a historical landmark but also a public holiday, celebrated each year on February 4. But San Juan's loss was Manila's gain.

This was not just a case of historical revisionism but a

challenge to local pride. Naturally, San Juan resisted the change and the historical marker had to be physically removed from the bridge and transferred to Santa Mesa in the dead of night to avoid a tug-of-war that would have made interesting news. There was even a suggestion to sue the NHI for "theft" of the marker. In time, the controversy dissipated but such is the reaction to new research.

While the NHI continues to undertake constant research, it is firmly rooted in its past role of commemorating the deeds of national heroes and marking historical places. The office is now in the forefront of heritage protection and often finds itself in the middle, between a wrecking ball and a heritage structure. It is consulted when names of streets and school buildings are to be changed, and in all these, I sometimes wonder if the National Historical Institute truly deserves its other name: the National *Hysterical* Institute.

THE ROLE OF SPANISH RELIGIOUS IN THE URBANIZATION OF LAGUNA TOWNS ALONG THE BAI AREA*

Evelyn A. Miranda

Urbanization is generally defined as the process by which a rural area is transformed into an urban settlement due to any two of the following --- increase in population, establishment of infrastructure, availability of basic services, and industrialization.

The article chronicles the founding of four towns as a result of mission work carried out by the Franciscans. These four towns are Lumban, Los Baños, Paquil, and Sta. Cruz which are found near Bay, the capital of the province until 1688. The aforementioned towns, including Bay, are located along the shores of the lake in the province which the Spaniards called "La Laguna" from which the province derives its name.

KEYWORDS: Laguna Christianization*Franciscans*Laguna de Bay* Bai* Lumban*Los Baños*Paquil*Sta. Cruz*

- Presented at the 2005 PHA General Assembly held at the National Historical Institute on January 30, 2005

Introduction

In 1571, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi instructed Juan Salcedo to place the territories surrounding Manila under Spanish control. Complying with these instructions, Salcedo conquered Cainta and Taytay, then Morong and Tanay. Thereafter, he entered Laguna and reached Bai, Pila, Nagcarlan, Lillo, Majayjay, Lumban, and Paete. Among these settlements, Bai was the biggest and most progressive. It was founded on May 30, 1578. As a parish, it was known as San Nicolas de Tolentino and under the administration of the Augustinians. Henceforth, Bai became the chief town of the province and the lake in the province, the longest inland body of water in the Philippines with a land area of 1,751,759.73 square kilometers, came to be known as Laguna de Bai.

LUMBAN

Lumban was the oldest and biggest among the four towns under study. It had four barrios or *visitass* in the late 16th and early 17th centuries namely: Pagsanjan, Cavinte, Sta. Cruz, and Paete.

Lumban was founded by Fray Juan Plasencia and Diego Oropesa in 1578. (Huerta 1856, 121) It was the center of all missionary activities in Laguna during the Spanish period. It became a *pueblo* (town) in 1590 with San Francisco (St. Francis of Assisi) as patron saint since Lumban was the first mission assignment of the Franciscans. However, in the 18th century the town adopted the martyr St. Sebastian as its patron saint after whom the parish was named.

Under the supervision of the Franciscan missionaries, a church made of bamboo and cogon was constructed by the natives along Laguna de Bay in the northern part of the town called Entablado which is now under the jurisdiction of Barangay Wawa. Unfortunately, the church was washed away by floods. Another church called Karistia was built but it was subsequently destroyed by fire.

In 1586, Father Pedro Bautista, the parish priest, acquired permission from the Governor General to build a church and convent made of stone. Thus, it was in Lumban where the first stone church in Laguna was erected. Native family heads were required to render service without pay while the church was being constructed. The church was completed in 1600. This was the first Franciscan building made of stone erected outside of Manila. Fr. Pedro Bautista was also an excellent musician. The first musical instructor in Tagalog, he organized the first choir and church musical groups.

It is interesting to note that it was in Lumban church that the Franciscans first brought the Blessed Sacrament outside of Manila. A solemn Eucharistic procession was held on October 9, 1600. Felix Huerta, OFM described the procession in his book entitled *Estado geografico, topografico, historico-religioso...* "Gold and gems and precious stones for the adornment of the images in the procession filled more than seven *arrobas*; and one triumphal car of such gigantic size as to require 26 wheels to support it was covered with gems of extreme value." The procession was heralded by the standards of 20 *pueblos* with 44 priests participating. The gala festival lasted for three days and three nights of music, chants, prayers and sermons. Because of the glitter and grandeur of the occasion, it attracted the natives to Christianity and proved to be the event of the century. (Huerta 1856, 123)

In 1606, the church opened a school where 400 boys were taught liturgical hymns and the use of musical instruments. The school was under the administration of Rev. Fr. Juan de Sta. Maria, OFM. The Church also served as a rest house for ailing Franciscan missionaries until 1618.

In 1680, a strong earthquake destroyed the church. Through the years, new structures were erected and rebuilt due to recurring typhoons, fires and earthquakes. The *Casa Tribunal* and the primary school were built with strong materials in the 1850's. The present church building was reconstructed from the ruins of bombing raids during World War II.

Los Baños

Los Baños was formerly a part of the town of Bay and was known as Maynit. Based on the account of Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga, the inhabitants called it Maynit because of the "hot springs." When John Foreman traveled to Los Baños in the middle of the 19th century, he found out that the natives called the place differently from the Spaniards. According to Foreman:

"The source of the name Los Baños (mga paliguan) are the hot springs which flowed from the volcanic mountains of Maquiling, which were known to the natives at that time, when it was called Maynit." (Foreman 1980, 359)

In 1590, however, the Franciscan friars learned that the hot springs of Bay had medicinal value and could cure ailments and other diseases. At that time, Fr. Pedro Bautista was visiting the town of Bay. He examined the water from the hot springs and convinced of the water's curative value, he thought of putting up a hospital. The Franciscans, upon learning this, initiated the construction of a public bath although it was only made of cogon and bamboo. This started the influx of people to the place. The dream of Padre Bautista to construct a hospital was fulfilled by Father Diego de Sta. Maria who petitioned the authorities to allow the Franciscans to build a hospital in Maynit. The petition was granted by the National Church Council and by Governor General Pedro de Acuña. Under the supervision of the Franciscan friars, the hospital was constructed and named Hospital de Nuestra Señora de las Aguas Santas de Mainit. Fr. Sta. Maria was commissioned to take charge of the administration of the hospital. The hospital was renamed Hospital Real de Los Baños. The town, surrounding the hospital, which flourished as a result of the influx of people, was named Los Baños.

To preempt a potential conflict arising from territorial jurisdiction, an agreement was made by the Augustinians and the

Franciscans on April 22, 1603. Under the agreement, the Franciscans will take charge of administering the town where the hospital was located. In addition to the hospital, the Franciscans will build a church and monastery to take care of the spiritual needs, not only of the patients in the hospital but also of the natives residing in the area surrounding the hospital.

In 1613, the town of Los Baños was founded. The Governor General transferred the full administration of Los Baños to the Franciscans. It became a separate parish with the Immaculate Conception de Aguas Santas as its patron saint. The church which was built in 1671 was burned in 1727 but was rebuilt in 1790 by Padre Domingo Mateo. The belfry, sacristy and roofing were completed in 1852. It was destroyed again in 1863 because of an earthquake but was again rebuilt in 1880. The municipal hall of Los Baños was built in 1615 near the coast because the only means of transportation available at that time was boats and bancas.

Paquil

The book *Paete* by Eugenio C. Quesada says that when Juan Salcedo went to Laguna in 1571 the towns along the coastal areas of Laguna Lake were under the leadership of Borneans, among them, Gat Paguil, Gat Sugayon, Gat Poletas and Gat Salakob. According to folk lore, the name of the town is derived from the name Gat Paguil. In the Tagalog language, the G or K have the same sound and there is no Q. And so, the friars wrote Paquil. "Paquil" became Pakil based on Executive Order No. 91 of Governor General Eugene A. Gilmore on December 5, 1927.

When Salcedo arrived in the area, he asked for Tinawin, the local chieftain who was in the mountains at that time. When Tinawin came back, Salcedo explained to the people the good intentions of the Spanish government. Tinawin and his wife were brought to Manila and baptized as Don Juan Tinawin and Doña Apolonia Guiling. The Spaniards also taught him how to govern his people. Upon his return to Pacquil, elections were

held and he was later appointed *alguacil mayor* and also *capitan* of Lumban.

Fr. Francisco Barajas was responsible for the Christianization of Paquil and other nearby areas including the provinces of Rizal, Laguna, Batangas, Tayabas, and Bicol. Paquil became a town on May 12, 1676 through the efforts of Fr. Barajas who also became its first parish priest. In 1684, the Governor General exempted the natives of Paquil from the payment of taxes to enable them to build their church and convent. However, it was only in 1732 that construction of the church began under the administration of Fr. Hernando Haro and Captain Jesus del Piso. The church was made of nipa and bamboo. The town's patron saint was San Pedro de Alcantara.

Many years passed but the progress of the town was slow. In 1800, the total number of families was 300 but there were only 250 houses, most of which were made of wood. The school was constructed from municipal funds. One hundred twenty pupils (boys and girls) attended the school. Six roads were built of the same length with boundaries and leveled uniformly by men selected for the job. The *Casa Real* which became the schoolhouse was also built.

Poverty and the slow growth of Paquil can be attributed to disasters. There was famine and hunger because of poor harvest and damage to crops. The people resorted to eating banana trunks called *sapa* or *saha*. Consequently, many got sick and died. In 1789 and again in 1851, fire ravaged the town. The 1851 fire destroyed the church, parochial house and most of the houses. Father Juan Llanera repaired the church and the convent. After the catastrophe, the people learned with astonishment that some 300 stamped images of Our Lady of Sorrows had not been burned although the table and chair where the images were placed had been completely burned. Because of the incident, the people of Paquil decided to hold a novena in honor of Our Lady of Sorrows each year during the Easter tide.

This commemoration eventually became the Feast of Torumba. (Huerta 1856, 158) There were also strong earthquakes in 1823 that led to the destruction of houses and the collapse of the church tower. In 1803, the lake turned red because of dead fishes. Cholera spread and many people died.

Aware of these problems, government officials, with assistance from kind and knowledgeable friars, initiated and implemented livelihood projects which gradually led to the progress of Paquil. The friars introduced the planting of tobacco in 1736 which became a lucrative undertaking because the price of tobacco increased. In 1759, Fr. Hernando Haro, Jose De Mayo, and Santiago Sandoval constructed a water reservoir to ensure the availability of potable drinking water. Another priest, Fr. Andres Cabrera, constructed a bridge over the Matamig River in 1794. He also planted coffee, cacao, *lumbang* and other crops. When Fr. Juan Vallederas arrived in 1804, he built a *pansol* and constructed a rice mill. He put up a hydroelectric plant for the irrigation of rice fields. A stone bridge was constructed in 1853 by Padre Peregrin Prospero over the Malaomat River and Balatoin which later on paved the way for the development of land transportation.

Sta. Cruz

During the last decade of the 16th century, Sta. Cruz (the present capital of Laguna) was once a well-populated barrio of Lumban. According to a popular story, three religious and moneyed sisters were responsible for the separation of an unnamed barrio from its mother town of Lumban. The three women were respected by the natives and their wealth helped immensely in improving the Catholic church of Lumban. For many years, the sisters made it a point to attend every religious affair held at the town proper despite the long walk from their barrio. The mass always started with their arrival. One day, the priest decided to begin the mass after waiting so long for the three women. The three did arrive only to learn that the mass was over. Feeling slighted, one of the sisters, right there and then, announced before the priest, the town administrator and the

rest of the congregation that they were not going to attend mass there anymore and that the assistance they had been giving to the church would be terminated.

Because of the incident, the women and the barrio folk severed relations with Lumban and started to build their own church. For several years though, the religious administrators remained under the parish priest of Lumban. The three sisters were chosen to head the barrio which they served well for some time. The natives called the place Sta. Cruz after a cross was found along the road between their barrio and Lumban. It is presumed that soon after, the same women helped in negotiating with the authorities for the conversion of barrio Sta. Cruz into a town.

In 1602, Sta. Cruz separated from Lumban and became a *pueblo* with its own church and local government. It became a separate parish under Fr. Gabriel de Castro with Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception as patron saint. The image of the Santo Angel de la Guardia is known in the lore of the people and the annual *fiesta* was a notable event in the province. The first church was destroyed and rebuilt in 1850 under the supervision of Fr. Juan Marzo.

Wednesdays and Thursdays were market days in Sta. Cruz. It used to be that agricultural products of Laguna, Tayabas (now Quezon) and Batangas were all marketed through Sta. Cruz, the leading provincial market in the country. A noted Franciscan infirmary formerly existed in Sta. Cruz for the cure and recuperation of Franciscan missionaries. Fr. Juan de Albalade removed it from Pila in 1674 though the building there was made of stone. It had been originally constructed in Majayjay after the village was established but moved to Lumban in 1606 and in 1618 to Pila. (Huerta 1856, 124-125)

Other structures were erected in the 1880's. The convent was made of strong materials and was very spacious. Also constructed were the Casa Real with a corresponding prison cell and two schoolhouses for the primary grades. Schoolhouses

were also built in the barrios. The allotment for school buildings came from municipal funds. There were 50 houses made of stone, 130 houses made of wood and 200 houses of bamboo materials. Tributes collected from the people totaled P3, 060.00 and donations amounted to P11, 383.00.

Since its foundation in 1602, Sta. Cruz had been ravaged by calamitous forces such as fires, typhoons, floods and human vandalism during the Philippine Revolution of 1896-1899; the Filipino-American War of 1899-1902, the assault of *tulisanes* (bandits) during the Spanish period, and guerillas in 1945.

Conclusion

What led to the success of mission work in Laguna in general and in the coastal towns of Bai area in particular? The Tagalogs of Laguna followed and obeyed the Franciscan missionaries because they were zealous, kind, patient and charitable to the natives. They walked barefoot on the hills and mountains surrounding Laguna Lake, penetrating the jungles to befriend and convince the natives to come down and live in settlements. Likewise, the Franciscans lived their faith, observing the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Among the religious orders, only the Franciscans had no landholdings. They lived on donations given by the people and on financial support from the *encomienda* as stipulated by law. The report of Governor Simon Anda says that the settlements administered by the Franciscans were "peaceful and orderly."

The opening of schools, the teaching of the 3 R's, and the Christian doctrine were evident in Lumban. Moreover, the opening of music schools and teaching the use of musical instruments were special attractions to the children, especially the young boys.

Another important factor in the acceptance of Christianity by the people of Laguna was the translation of Christian books and pamphlets into Tagalog. The natives were

awed and amazed to hear the missionaries speak Tagalog. Fr. Plasencia was responsible for the translation of some major works from Spanish to Tagalog. He is well-known for his work *Costumbres de los Tagalos* (Customs of the Tagalogs). Other friar-linguists were: Fray Miguel de Talavera, Fray Diego de la Asuncion and Fray Geronimo Monte. Together with Fray Juan de Plasencia, they are considered as the first masters of the Tagalog language. Their works had not been printed earlier because these were voluminous. Besides, works that were printed were those urgently needed for the instruction of the natives. In 1613, Pedro de San Buenaventura printed a Tagalog vocabulary. In 1610, Fray Geronimo Monte printed in Tagalog the devout prayers for Confession and Communion while Fray Alonso de Sta. Ana explained and printed the mysteries of the Holy Faith in Tagalog in 1628. (Blair and Robertson 1973, 311-312)

Other aspects of Christianity that made the natives accept the new faith were miracles, rituals and ceremonies during the Lenten Season, *fiestas*, and the Eucharistic celebration. They were astonished by the grandeur and novelty of the processions and other related religious festivals.

We can say that *reduccion* worked in Lumban and Paquil. In the case of Los Baños, the town was formed as a result of the influx of people to nearby areas surrounding the Los Baños hospital which was administered by the Franciscans. The role of the elite in the founding of Christian *pueblos* or in the beginning of urbanization was evident in the towns of Sta. Cruz, Lumban and Paquil. Salcedo negotiated with Tinawin, the leader of settlements in Laguna Lake. In the case of Sta. Cruz, the three affluent women were presumed to be responsible for the construction of a separate church and eventually the establishment of a new town, Sta. Cruz.

In all four towns, the people accepted Christianity but retained some traditional spiritual beliefs which later led to the indigenization of Christianity.

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PHILIPPINE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN 1896: Prosperity vs. Poverty as Preconditions of the Revolution*

Celestina P. Boncan

In the 19th century the chapter of mercantilist trade with Mexico drew to a close while the opening of the Philippines to the trade of Europeans and Americans broke up the isolation of the country for over two hundred years.

The article surveys the economic changes and infrastructure projects that came about as a result of the introduction of liberal foreign commerce and examines its impact on the different stakeholders of the colonial society. It is against this back drop that the paper attempts to analyze which between prosperity and poverty pushed Filipinos to break out in revolution in 1896.

KEYWORDS: *Foreign Commercial Companies*Cash Crop
*Mestizo*Hacienda *Banking*Telegraph System*Railway**

- Presented at the PHA 8th Oral & Local History Seminar Workshop held at the Bukidnon State College in Malaybalay City, Bukidnon on October 7-8, 1998

Foreign Commerce

In the 19th century Spain relaxed her restrictions on the foreign trade of the Philippines. Asians and then the Portuguese followed by other European nationalities and Americans were permitted to trade with Manila. By the third quarter of the century, numerous foreign commercial companies had opened offices in Manila. The most numerous were the British (Butler, Sykes & Co., Holliday, Wise & Co., Ker & Co., Patterson, W.R. & Co., Martin, Dyce & Co., Constable, Wood & Co., Philips, Moore & Co.). Not to be outdone, German (Peter, Jenny & Co., Peters & Co., Eugster Sabhart & Co.), French (Augusto Van Polen Petel & Co., Juan Augusto Guichard e Hijos) and American (Peele, Hubbell & Co., Russell, Sturgis & Co.) companies followed.

These foreign commercial companies brought to the country a multitude of European-made products which came to adorn many houses in Manila (glass lampshades, crystal wares, flower vases, picture frames, table clocks, crystal chandeliers, table lamps, pianos) and goods of common utility (knives, forks, razors, writing paper, sealing wax, tumblers, goblets, locks, hinges, nails, sewing thread, beads, fans, pomades, lotions, pocket watches, eye glasses, fish hooks, drills, chisels, saws, barometers, bottles, iron safes, padlocks, candlesticks, lanterns, perfumed soaps, pencils, keys, brushes).

And as these Europeans had also established a regular trade with China, they brought to the Philippines Chinese manufactured items such as varnished wood, articles made of mother-of-pearl, ivory, gold and silver, writing paper, linen goods, cigarette paper, cooking pans and trays, trunks, chairs, rattles, wooden combs, small mirrors, shaving sets, paper parasols, curtain rings, basins and pitchers, talcum, lounging cane chairs, copper and iron wire, brown paper, cages, game sets and also foodstuffs such as salted garlic, dried prunes, sweet potatoes, cinnamon, dried and salted onions, oysters and fish, salted radishes, chestnuts, walnuts and pears.

The entry into the country of European and Asian products was complimented by the departure of Philippine products for the markets of Europe and America. Among the most in demand by the foreign merchants were rice, tobacco, sugar, abaca, coconut, indigo and coffee.

Rice was the most widely cultivated plant in the country. Large quantities were grown in the Ilocos, Pangasinan, Bulacan, Capiz, Camarines and Antique. It was measured and sold by the *caban* and its fractions where one *caban* was equivalent to twenty-five *gantas*, one *ganta* was equivalent to eight *chupas* and one *chupa* was equivalent to four *apatans*.

Sugar cane was grown in Pampanga, Bulacan, Laguna and Pangasinan in Luzon and in Negros, Iloilo and Cebu in the Visayas. An acre of land usually yielded from thirty to forty tons of sugar.

Hemp or *Musa textilis* was grown in Albay, Sorsogon, Camarines, Leyte, Samar, Cebu, and in some sections in Mindanao. The first three provinces were the leading producers with a combined production of 36,500 tons which was half of the country's average annual shipment. Hemp is produced by a tree similar to *Musa paradisiaca*, more known in layman's term as banana, differing only because its leaves are darker and shorter. The fiber is obtained by passing combs through the leafstalks which thereafter were dried and pressed into bales. A fine fiber was obtained in small quantities from specially selected edges of the petiole. Known as *lupis* in the Bicolano dialect, this was woven by the natives into ladies dresses. But ordinary hemp fiber was manufactured into coarse native cloth known as *sinamay* which was largely worn by the poorer classes of the natives. Hemp fiber was also made into rope.

Cotton was cultivated in Ilocos and Batangas. The raw fiber was packed in bales weighing two *picos* each and wrapped in sturdy abaca cloth. Cotton was usually woven and made into table cloths, table napkins, towels, bedspreads, and trousers.

The best tobacco was grown under government monopoly in Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya, Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte, La Union and Nueva Ecija. Started in 1781 by Governor General Jose Basco y Vargas, strict government supervision over tobacco cultivation required each family to raise 4,000 plants *per annum*. A stiff fine was slapped on all those who failed to do so. At the same time, no one was allowed to plant crops other than tobacco. The Visayan Islands were not placed under monopoly regulations although the people were encouraged to raise tobacco, too. Eventually, the government established factories and collecting centers for whatever tobacco the people raised.

Indigo was usually planted in the dry, sloping lands of Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Pangasinan, Ilocos, Bataan, and Laguna. The dye was extracted by first placing the plant in large pools of water treated with lime and thereafter beaten consistently. Afterwards, the dye, which had by then precipitated at the bottom of the pool, was transferred to mats and allowed to dry. Good quality indigo was light, dry, fine and brittle and gave off a brilliant streak of copper color.

Coconuts were grown in most of the provinces of the country for the many products derived from them such as oil, milk, *tuba*, *bukayo* and *niyog*.

Cacao was brought to the Philippines originally from Mexico. Cacao beans were made into chocolate which was done by roasting them over a slow fire. They were then separated from their husks and then pounded with wet sugar after which they were rolled on a concave block of wood until they formed a paste. Sugar, vanilla and cinnamon were usually added to counteract the bitterness.

The best coffee of the country was grown in the provinces of Cavite, Batangas, and Laguna.

Agriculture became the basis of the country's export trade in the 19th century. Export figures in 1889 show that the

Franciscans on April 22, 1603. Under the agreement, the Franciscans will take charge of administering the town where the hospital was located. In addition to the hospital, the Franciscans will build a church and monastery to take care of the spiritual needs, not only of the patients in the hospital but also of the natives residing in the area surrounding the hospital.

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Paquil

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Tuguegarao, Alcala, Aparri (for the northeastern line); Cavite, Punta Restinga, Corregidor, Calamba, Lipa, Batangas, Taal, Punta Santiago, Sta. Cruz, Tayabas, Atimonan, Guinayangan, Ragay, Libmanan, Daet, Nueva Caceres, Albay (for the southern line). The only major points in Luzon with no stations to receive telegraphic messages were Cervantes, Trinidad, Bontoc, Sto. Domingo de Basco, and Baler.

The Visayas and Mindanao were connected to Manila through two lines of inter-island mail ships --- the first ship stopped at Romblon, Iloilo, Dapitan, Dumaguete and Cebu; the second ship stopped at Culion, Cuyo, Puerto Princesa, Balabac, Cagayan de Jolo, Isabela de Basilan, Zamboanga and Cotabato. Two other lines of inter-island mail ships connected northern and southern Luzon to Manila (the first passed Subic, Sual, San Fernando, Vigan, Currimao, Aparri, Sto. Domingo de Basco; the second passed Batangas, Calapan, Boac, Laguimanoc, Pasacao, San Pascual, Palanoc, Dansol, Sorsogon, Legazpi, Virac, Tabaco.

Carreteras or roadways linking towns and provinces were mapped out (Batanes in 1891, Abra to Cagayan in 1880, Negros in 1889, Pandacan to Paco in 1873, Carcar to Barili in 1880, Iloilo to Concepcion in 1864). Old roads were repaired, widened or aligned (San Felipe Neri, now Mandaluyong, in 1895, Manila to Marikina in 1895, Manila to Bulacan in 1886, Bulacan to Nueva Ecija from 1887 to 1892, Cebu from 1886 to 1895, San Fernando de Dilao, now Paco, to Pineda, now Pasay, in 1891, Mabatang to Abucay in Bataan in 1889, Taytay to Antipolo in 1878, San Fabian in Pangasinan in 1888, Bataan from 1886 to 1895 and Bulacan to Bigaa in 1891).

A railway starting in Manila and ending in Dagupan (Pangasinan) with an aggregate total of 1,730 kilometers was constructed. It placed the travelling time between Manila and Dagupan at only eight hours and conveniently connected Manila to the four major rice and sugar producing provinces in Luzon, namely, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija and Tarlac. The first length of 43.8 kilometers was opened to the public on March 24,

1891. The train stopped at twenty-three strategically located stations (Caloocan, Polo, Meycauayan, Marilao, Bocaue, Bigaa, Guiguinto, Malolos, Calumpit, Sto. Tomas, San Fernando, Angeles, Mabalacat, Bamban, Capas, Tarlac, Gerona, Paniqui, Moncada, Bayamban, Malasiqui, San Carlos, Calasiao).

And all over the country, a more than modest program was undertaken to upgrade public works facilities. Wharves (in Capiz in 1892, in Tacloban in 1874, Pulupandan in Negros in 1895), lighthouses (in Negros in 1897, Tanguingui island between Panay and Leyte in 1893, in Bugui Point in Masbate in 1896) and bridges (in Batanes in 1891, between Apalit and San Fernando in Pampanga in 1891, over the Asinag River in Iloilo in 1890, between Betis and Sta. Rita in Pampanga in 1887, over the Batoquin brook between Mangaldan and Manaoag in Pangasinan in 1886, over the estuary of Sta. Rita in Pampanga in 1875) were constructed.

Impact on Colonial Society

Various sectors in Philippine colonial society responded differently to the new economic pattern fashioned by the development of a cash crop economy in the country.

From mere buyers of Philippine cash crops, European and American commercial companies turned to outright financing the cultivation of cash crops in order to be assured of their supply at the harvest season. Three factors worked for the advantage of these foreign commercial companies. First, British banks, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation and the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, opened branches at the Plaza de San Gabriel in Binondo, Manila which provided British merchants a guaranteed credit line. Second, they had a vast exposure in the world market from where they could easily divest in order to acquire capital at the soonest time possible. And thirdly, they made payments in terms of letters of credit for their transactions which was faster and safer as compared with paying in cash. And lest one forgets, the foreign commercial companies had money to invest. A good example to

illustrate this point is the Peele Hubbell & Company. From 1876 to 1882 it funded abaca production in Camarines, Albay, Leyte and Samar in the amount of 900,000 *pesos*.

Spanish businessmen opened their own mercantile companies and joined the British and the Americans in shipping Philippine cash crops to Spain. These companies (Aldecoa y Ca., Baer, Señor y Ca., Balbas y Ca., Battle Hermanos y Ca., Echeita Portuondo y Ca., Gutierrez y Ca., Ynchausti y Ca., Marcaida y Ca., Muñoz Hermanos y Ca., Torrecilla y Ca., Codina y Ca.) dispatched their ships to either Cadiz or Santander between December and January. The return ship left Spain in the beginning or middle of May, arriving in Manila in the middle or towards the end of September loaded with many Spanish foodstuffs (sausages, artichoke, olives, cheese, Galician ham, Flemish butter, pork sausages, olive oil, chick peas) wine (Catalan red wine, sweet and mild Malaga wine, sherry in casks and barrels from Jerez and Sanlucar) and an assortment of useful items (books, writing paper, playing cards).

Due to the profitable trend of commercial agriculture, the religious orders also became interested in cash crop cultivation. They began to take over most of the cultivable land in Luzon, employing various means, many in the form of purchase, pious donations, mortgage or extra-judicial settlements. Four religious orders found themselves owning most of the arable lands in the immediate environs of Manila, twenty-two estates in this area alone. The Order of St. John owned the largest estate, the Hacienda de Buenavista. The Dominican estates were in Bulacan (Pandi, Lolomboy) and in Laguna (San Pedro Tunasan, Biñan, and Sta. Rosa), the Augustinian estates in Bulacan (Binagbag, Dampol, San Marcos, Guiguinto) and also in the province of Tondo (Malinta, Tala, Piedad), the Recollect estates in Cavite (San Nicolas, Imus, Tunasancilla).

Aside from crop cultivation, the religious orders turned to money lending as there were no local banks before 1851 and they being the ones with much money to lend. The big money lenders included the Obras Pias de la Santa Misericordia, the

Venerable Orden Tercera de Santo Domingo, the Archicofradia de Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazareno de Recoletos, the Cabildo of the Santa Iglesia Catedral de Manila, the Venerable Orden de San Francisco, and the Archicofradia de Santissimo Sacramento of the Santa Iglesia Catedral de Manila. They loaned money at an annual interest of 6%, payment of which had to be assured by one or two guarantors. On top of this surety, creditors had to offer collateral of value. Property was the most accepted collateral since there was always a high premium on land. Hence, it was not uncommon for creditors to offer the houses where they lived or rows of apartment buildings as their loan collateral. Other items of value that were also accepted as collateral were jewelry and commercial boats.

Before formal banking was introduced in 1851 with the establishment of the Banco Español-Filipino de Isabel 2^a Spaniards and Spanish and Chinese *mestizos*, among them, Jose de Azcarraga, Antonio de Ayala, Manuel Rocha, Jose Maria Tuason, Jose Mauricio, Ygnacio Rocha, Jacobo Zobel, Juan Bautista de Marcaida, Bartolome Antonio Barretto, Jose Felipe del Pan, Juan Roxas, Juan Antonio de Orbeta, Carlos Palanca, Pedro Roxas, Antonio Madrigal, to name a few, engaged in the practice of money-lending.

Spanish and Chinese *mestizos* transported cash crops from the provinces to Manila as they were usually the owners of large commercial boats. Through this trade, Manila received for its domestic consumption natural and industrial products from other parts of the country. From the Ilocos came tobacco, rice, cotton, *panocha*, cow's meat, carbon, *molave* and *narra* logs, onions, indigo and *gaogao*; from Pangasinan came rice, sugar, coconuts, *sibucan*, indigo, cow's hides and *calamay*; from Zambales came carbon, rice, *sibucan*, onions, firewood, cured meat, *molave*, *baticuling*, and *banaba* timber; from Mindoro came abaca, wax, cow's hide, tar, cotton, *balate*, *ipil* and *yakal*; from Capiz came bird's nests, abaca, tobacco, tar, rattan, cotton and cacao; from Samar came coconut oil, abaca, cow's hide, wax and *gulaman*; from Batangas came sugar, cow's hide, tar, coffee, *mongo* beans, *sibucan*, cotton, onions and cacao; from Cebu

came sugar, coconut oil, abaca, cow's hide, tobacco, *sibucano*, *ube* and cacao; from Albay came abaca, rattan and *sinamay*; from Leyte came abaca, coconut oil, tar, cow's hide, sulfur and cacao; from Bulacan came fish, rice, hats and shellfish; from Pampanga came sugar and rice; from Cavite came dried fish, *bagoong*, fruits and sugar; from Laguna came cows, coconut oil, fruits, rattan, *tampipi*, hats, coconuts, *calamay*, cheese, rice, coconut wine, indigo and coffee; from Bataan came wood, rattan, sugar.

Spanish and Chinese *mestizos* also engaged in other forms of entrepreneurial activity. One was the manufacture of products for the domestic market such as cigars, cigarettes, soap, bricks, tiles, mats, hats, wallets, *biscocho*, *broas*, tablecloths, bedspreads, towels, trousers, rum, barrels, beer, carriages, carts, chocolate, coconut oil, combs, candies, perfumes, furniture, guitars, harnesses, parasols, ice, ink, marble, shorts, shoes, slippers, soda water, trunks and wax candles. Another was by becoming proprietors of establishments offering a variety of items to sell such as clothing, European wine and food, candies, Chinese and Japanese wares, naval merchandise, medicines, chocolate, tobacco, jewelry, books, bread and cakes, perfumes, musical instruments and hats.

As the direct beneficiaries of the burgeoning commerce of cash crops, the Spaniards and the Spanish and Chinese *mestizos* formed a prosperous urban sector. In Manila, they resided in the *arrabales* such as Binondo, Sta. Cruz, Quiapo, San Miguel, Sampaloc, San Fernando de Dilao, Ermita, Malate, Pandacan and Sta. Ana. These suburbs became the focal point of the city's perimeter expansion as land here was plentiful. It was also here where foreign nationals, wealthy Spaniards and the *mestizos* built their new houses made of tile and brick which they adorned with furnishings from Europe and America. On top of all these, they enjoyed leisurely amenities that life in Manila offered --- theater presentations, carriage rides on the city's cobble streets or quiet walks along the Luneta promenade.

The Spanish and Chinese *mestizos* did not limit the propitious effect of the cash crop economy solely in acquiring

the material vestiges of wealth such as a beautifully constructed house fully furnished with the latest adornments coming from Europe and America. They also aspired for higher achievements by acquiring an education and becoming well versed in literature, art and music. While this was very typical of the *nouveau riche*, it was extremely important for the Spanish and Chinese *mestizos* to gain social sophistication and respectability even if they had to pay for it. Spanish colonial Philippines was a society which judged a person's hierarchy in the social order by the purity of his blood. As half-breeds, the Spanish *mestizos* were looked down upon by the pure-blooded *peninsulares* and *insulares*. On the other hand, the Chinese *mestizos* endured an even greater humiliation. Despite the fact that they were already born in the country and had native women as mothers, the stigma of being sons of heathen fathers remained with them.

Foreigners, Spaniards, Spanish and Chinese *mestizos* were the owners of establishments offering a variety of business and professional services that dotted the streets of the suburbs of Manila, such as bazaars (Elzinger Hermanos, Bazar Cosmopolitan, Bazar Filipino, Bazar Oriental, Bazar de Velasco, La Gran Bretaña, La Industrial, La Puerta del Sol, La Barcelonesa, La Villa de Paris); coffee shops (Cafe de la Marina); clothing stores (Los Catalanes, Las Novedades); cars for hire (Manuel Santiago, Ceferino de Leon, Felix Javier, Lucas del Rosario, Francisco Reyes, Feliciano Quiogue, Ignacio Tenorio, Simeon Claro); funeral cars (La Funeraria, Casiano Francisco); wine and food stores (Almacen Luzon, El Globo, La Castellana, La Malagueña, La Bodega, La Ciudad de Manila); candy stores (Cafeteria Española, Dulceria de Paris, La Palma de Mallorca, La Rosa de Oro); Chinese and Japanese wares (La India Inglesa, Yong-Heng); naval merchandise (Ynchausti y Compañia, Goyenechea, Reyes); pharmacies (Botica de Binondo, Botica de Dulumbayan, Botica de Fernandez, Botica Inglesa, Botica de San Gabriel, Botica de San Sebastian, Botica de Zobel, Botica de Quiapo, Botica de Boie, Botica de Sta. Cruz); restaurants (Hotel de Europa, Hotel de Oriente, Las Cuatro Naciones, Hotel de Universo, Restaurant de Paris, La Alhambra, La Esperanza); chocolate shops (La Bilbaina, La

Palma de Mallorca); tobacco shops (Flor de la Isabela, La Montañesa, La Constanca, La Favorita, La Flor de Filipinas, Maria Cristina, La Minerva, El Oriente); printing establishments (Amigos del Pais, Diario de Manila, La Flor de Cataluña, La Oceania Española, La Opinion, La Revista Mercantil); jewelry shops (La Estrella del Norte, Greilsammer, Ullmann); book shops (Libreria del Carmen, Libreria Oriental, Libreria Tagala); furniture shops (Bazar Oriental, La Puerta del Sol); musical instruments (La Lira, Sta. Cecilia, Villa de Paris); bakeries (Panaderia de Jolo, Panaderia de San Jose, Panaderia de San Sebastian); perfumeries (Perfumeria Inglesa, El Louvre, Perfumeria del Mundo Elegante); hat shops (Sombrereria Española, Sombrereria Ultramarina); clothes shops (El Louvre, El Siglo XIX, Las Novedades, Los Catalanes).

Not all sectors of Philippine colonial society benefited from the cultivation and export of cash crops. The native population which the Spaniards called *indios* did not receive the same bountiful returns that rained upon the Spaniards, the European and American traders and the Spanish and Chinese *mestizos*. For the most part, their only participation in the cash crop economy was as cultivators of sugar, rice, tobacco, abaca, coconuts, coffee and indigo. They were not even the owners of the land that they tilled. As it had been mentioned earlier, most of the land cultivated to these cash crops were estates that belonged to the religious orders which they farmed as tenants.

The picture of the daily life of the *indios* (native Filipinos) was so much different from that of the Spanish and Chinese *mestizos*. They stayed in the rural areas where life was slow-moving and stagnant, deprived of the comforts and tastes of life in the city. Theirs was a way of life that did not give them access to some form of meaningful cultural indulgence to enable them to acquire a measure of socio-political sophistication. The promise that higher learning brought to enable a person to improve his lot in life was closed to the *indios* as most of his waking hours were taken up not only by farm work but also by compulsory labor and other services to the community. Their only leisure was a day spent in the cockpit. The broadside of his

cultural life was fulfilled in terms of festivities which were largely religious in nature, notably the *pasyon*, the *comedia* and the *moro-moro*. The lonely isolated life in the rural areas took a greater toll on the hapless *indios* since they were constantly subjected to the whims and caprices of other people who, apart from the landlord, held great power over them, namely, the *cura parroco* and the *gobernadorcillo*.

The cash crop economy created a native servile class who found employment in factories in Manila producing alcohol, bread, beer, carriages, cigars and cigarettes, ice, hats, furniture, soda water, guitars, candy, carriages, combs, shirts, shoes, slippers, soaps, to name a few. These laborers did not receive much material benefits. They generally received low wages, an average of 50 *centavos*, since they were unskilled. With only this much, his daily food consisted of dried or fresh fish (10 *centavos*/pound) and rice (2 *centavos*/pound). He did not eat meat because fresh beef and pork were expensive (20 *centavos*/pound). He flavored his diet of fish and rice with tomatoes (2 *centavos*/pound) and bananas for dessert (4 *centavos*/dozen). He reserved the remainder of his day's wage to buy other necessities like lard (15 *centavos*/pound), coconut oil (6 *centavos*/pound), salt (1.5 *centavos*/pound), third class brown sugar (5 *centavos*/pound), third class tobacco (10 *centavos*/pound) and local vinegar (2.5 *centavos*/liter).

Conclusion

In 1896, it was not prosperity that weighed heavier as a precondition to revolution. The Spanish and Chinese *mestizos*, despite the socio-political sophistication that they acquired as a result of their new found wealth, turned against those political activities which had as motive the destruction of the status quo, that is, the Spanish colonial government. Whereas the friar orders resented them contemptuously, the extent of their political philosophy was the reform of the colonial government and the curtailment of the abuses of the religious orders. While it is true that in the later years some of these Spanish and Chinese *mestizos* eventually abandoned reformism, the greater number of

them evoked an interest in revolution only in the later years when efforts were no longer as much focused in the struggle to defeat the Spaniards militarily but to establish a republican form of government.

On the contrary, it was poverty which eventually proved to be the real precondition for a revolution against Spain in 1896. The members of the secret society which launched the Revolution of 1896 were natives grown impoverished and destitute by the cash crop economy which did not leave room for them to taste even the least of the crumbs of the prosperity that other sectors of the colonial society enjoyed.

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UNDERSTANDING PHILIPPINE BASIC EDUCATION FROM 1972 TO 1982 USING MULTI- DISCIPLINARY APPROACH*

Evelyn A. Songco

On September 21, 1972 President Ferdinand Marcos issued Proclamation No. 1081 placing the entire Philippine archipelago under martial law. One of the presidential decrees that he issued was PD 6-A signed on September 29, 1972 which became known as the Educational Development Act of 1972.

The article discusses how the educational system, through PD 6-A, was placed in a position to serve as tool for national development, as a means for political thrust, and as an avenue for moral regeneration and cultural development.

KEYWORDS: *Martial Law*1972 Educational Development Act*New Society*Green Revolution*Youth Civic Action Program*Citizen Army Training*Bilingual Education*

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The development of basic education from 1972-1982 was greatly influenced by the Martial Law Regime. Presidential Decree No. 6-A, also known as the Educational Development Act of 1972, guided the Ten-Year Educational Development Program of the Philippines. Signed on September 29, 1972 the decree was rooted on the report of the Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education (PCSPE) that made a landmark report entitled "Education for National Development" in 1970. The findings of the report showed that to achieve national development through education fundamental changes were needed in such areas as specialization of educational opportunities, upgrading of quality of education, rationalization of tertiary education, matching of manpower demand and supply, promotion of teachers' welfare, and strengthening of educational planning and capabilities.

PD 6-A was in line with the Martial Law Regime's national development goals of 1) to achieve and maintain an accelerating rate of economic development and social progress; 2) to assure the maximum participation of all the people in the attainment and enjoyment of the benefits of such growth; and 3) to strengthen the national consciousness and promote desirable cultural values in a changing world as the following were identified as the educational objectives:

- Provide for the broad general education that will assist each individual in the peculiar ecology of his own society a) to attain his potential as a human being; b) to enhance the range and quality of individual and group participation in the basic functions of the society; c) to acquire the essential educational foundation for his development into a productive and versatile citizen;
- Train the nation's manpower in the middle skills required for national development;
- Develop the high level professions that will provide leadership for the nation, advance knowledge through

research, and apply new knowledge for improving the quality of human life; and

- Respond effectively to changing needs and conditions of the nation through a system of educational planning and evaluation.

Closely looking at these educational objectives one can easily see the movement of the educational system towards the empowerment of the youth through the total development of their capabilities. These capabilities were to enable them to participate fully in the society.

To achieve these objectives, a ten-year development program was devised based on the following guidelines:

- Improvement of curricular programs and quality of instruction at all levels by way upgrading physical facilities, adoption of cost-saving instructional technology, and training and retraining of teachers and administrator
- Upgrading of academic standards through accreditation schemes, admissions testing and guidance counseling;
- Democratization of access to educational opportunities through the provision of financial assistance to deserving students, skill training programs for out-of-school youth and continuing education program for non-literate adults;
- Restructuring of higher education to become more responsive to national development needs through a planned system of investments and assistance to both public and private colleges and universities and synchronization of curricular programs, staffing patterns and institutional development activities;

- Expansion of existing programs and establishment of new ones designed to train middle-level technical and agricultural manpower; and
- Instituting reform in the educational financing system to facilitate the shift of funding responsibility for elementary and secondary education from national to local government, thereby increasing government participation in higher education

Curriculum Revision in Basic Education in the 70s

The Revised Elementary Education Program was approved by the Board of National Education on February 17, 1970 and was implemented in the following school year. Its curriculum contained the following: Character Education, Language Arts (Vernacular, Pilipino, and English), Social Studies, Elementary Mathematics, Health and Science, Music and Arts, Work Education and Physical Education. It was different from the 1957 Revised Curriculum in that Character Education stood as a separate subject.

In general, Secondary Education was envisioned to be a continuation of the General Education Program in the elementary education level and act as preparation either for vocational education or college education.

The goals of the 1973 Revised Secondary Education were the following:

- Develop a reasoned commitment to the goals of national development by cherishing, preserving, and developing moral and spiritual values and other aspects of national heritage in Philippine society;
- Understand the wide possibilities of arts and sciences as permanent sources of pleasure and profit and discover, broaden, and heighten abilities in and appreciation of them;

- Acquire basic occupational skills, knowledge and information essential for obtaining initial gainful employment and for making intelligent choice of occupation or career;
- Acquire further skills in thinking, speaking, and writing and develop the ability to react intelligently and creatively to mass media and other life situations;
- Obtain experience and form desirable attitudes for understanding the individual's self, his own people and other races, places and times through opportunities for living vicariously with a wide variety of peoples, thereby promoting a keen sense of self and family and of national and international communities; and,
- Demonstrate understanding, acquisition and application of the basic concepts and methodologies of the different branches of human knowledge in order to promote his physical, intellectual, emotional and social well-being

Under the 1973 Revised Secondary Education Curriculum, the 40-minute sessions were replaced by 1-hour class periods. The English and Pilipino subjects were given the generic term of Communication Arts subjects. The contact time for Communication Arts and Science was increased as they were given more emphasis. Social Science was renamed Social Studies. Philippine Military Training (PMT) was renamed Citizens Army Training (CAT). Music was integrated in Scouting, CAT, and Physical Education. Character Education was integrated in all subjects in and out of school. Elective subjects (academic/vocational) from second year to fourth year were included.

The Task Force of 1973 had several proposals to the Board of National Education. Among its more important recommendation was the implementation of eleven years of preparation for the college level. However, it did not clarify

which level will be affected. The preparation for college work, therefore, remained at 10 years.

Moral Education

Moral Education was emphasized by integrating values in all subjects. Department Order No. 6, s. 1973 emphasized the development of moral virtues specifically discipline, honesty, social responsibility, thrift, hard work, and obedience. This was strengthened by Department Memorandum No. 58, s. 1974 that identified a systematic evaluation of the development of moral values among the children.

One's self, community, nation, and God served as a framework in values development in the classroom. In drawing out the objectives of lesson, teachers were urged to identify a value that can be derived from the lesson. Teachers looked for approaches that will help their students develop desirable values. They were trained to use values identification, values clarification, values analysis as strategies in their classrooms.

Moral Education served as an important avenue for developing citizenship among the students thus preparing them for a role in society.

Youth Civic Action Program

The Youth Civic Action Program (YCAP) emphasized the role of the youth in nation-building. The program endeavored to channel the energy of students towards meaningful activities to benefit the community and thus help transform the nation. This subject matter content and the experiences of the learners was expected to develop among them an awareness of their capacity to contribute to nation-building.

The basis of the YCAP was to make the community a vibrant laboratory where students can integrate academic growth and citizenship role; hence its goals are the following:

- To orient the youth and the community on the ideals of the New Society;
- To imbue the youth with social and civic consciousness and social responsibility and a desire to participate in the development of one's community through the wise use and conservation of both human and natural resources;
- To make the youth realize the role that they must play in the socio-economic development of the country;
- To involve the youth in the development of their communities;
- To give more meaning to school experience through actual application of learning in the solution of community problems;
- To instill love for and pride in our country and people, particularly through the revival of those aspects of our cultural heritage that are supportive of the goals of the New Society;
- To develop citizens who are upright, clean, orderly, law-abiding, physically fit and God-loving;
- To guide the youth in forming a more realistic perspective of life

YCAP was implemented at all levels --- elementary, secondary, and tertiary. It started in 1973 as a summer program but eventually became a whole year round activity for all levels.

The implementation of YCAP depended on the creativity of the teacher and the Department Chairs. In general, students were engaged in YCAP work once a week with their class or with their group. Their community activity depended on their classroom lessons.

Principles such as nationalism, citizenship, service to others, leadership were discussed in the classroom. But YCAP provided them with an opportunity to experience the reality in the community and at the same time help address the needs of the community. Among the popular YCAP activities were tree planting and cleaning to help improve the environment.

Educational Reforms

Curricular reform revolved around the idea of "relevance." This meant making the theoretical and academic training of students more practical and relevant to the needs of national development. Thrusts given emphasis inside and outside the classroom favored the government agenda.

Population Education

Factors such as improved food production, decline in infant mortality, advancement in medicine and increased literacy rate greatly contributed greatly to an increase in population. Alarmed by the situation, the Commission on Population recommended the adoption of a national policy on population planning which was embodied in Republic Act 6365, as amended by Presidential Decree No. 79, known as the Revised Population Act of the Philippines.

Pursuant to this, President Marcos issued General Order No. 18 and Letter of Instruction No. 47 directing the Department of Education and Culture to include population education in the curriculum starting from the elementary level. This was with the aim that the youth will develop the necessary knowledge and skills to help them understand the population situation of the country and consequently develop a national attitude and behavior appropriate for the situation particularly with regards to fertility, migration and distribution and other population-related issues.

Population education started with three projects, to wit: the Bureau of Public Schools with the financial assistance of

Colombo Plan Bureau; Population Center of the Philippine Women's University with the financial assistance of USAID and in coordination with the Department of Education; Philippine Wesleyan College with the financial support from the Pathfinder Fund. All these projects aimed at the production of instructional materials for population education.

Taking a more decisive move, the Department of Education and Culture, in coordination with the Commission on Population and the National Economic Development Authority, established the Population Education Program with financial assistance from United Nations Fund for Population Activities. This institutionalized population education in the Philippine educational system in July 1972. Under the Population Education Program, subjects such as Demography, Determinants and Consequences, Human Sexuality and Reproduction, and Planning for the Future were offered in both elementary and high school levels.

Green Revolution

In the late 1970s, prices of food rose due to the inability of different provinces in Luzon to produce adequate amounts of fruits and vegetables to stabilize food prices. In order to respond to this situation, the Department of Education issued the memorandum "Self-Sufficiency in Food." Then First Lady Imelda Marcos also began a program that she called Green Revolution in which the people were encouraged to plant fruits and vegetables in their gardens.

Under the helm of the First Lady, the Undersecretary of Education was appointed Chairman of the Green Revolution in the Department of Education and Member of the National Executive Committee. The Green Revolution was also integrated into the curriculum. The classroom became an avenue through which the attitude of the youth towards greening the environment was developed.

Work-Oriented Curriculum

For a developing nation like the Philippines, the labor force --- in offices, farms, and factories --- is very important to achieve economic development. Thus, government viewed labor as an important factor for national growth and development.

Schools were expected to contribute to the needs of economic development. The aim was for students to form a positive attitude towards work by providing them with opportunities for exposure to work starting at an early age. In the pre-school and primary grades levels, students were exposed to different types of workers in the community to make them realize the importance of individual and group work to the growth of the community. In the elementary level, the curriculum was revised such that the contents, objectives, scope, and sequence allowed students more practical learning experiences. In the secondary level, the curriculum was revised to expose students to occupational orientation, good work habits, and harmonious relationship with others. Hopefully, these experiences will help them make the right choice as to the kind of work they would like to engage in the future and help them develop employable skills needed in their locality or community.

Learning became a combination of theory and work experiences. For this purpose, teachers were allowed to require 40% of their school time to productive work. Children could even be dismissed to help in planting and harvesting when public welfare so requires.

Bilingual Education Policy

Filipinizing education had always been an important issue. To many educators, the first step in learning was using the national language, Pilipino. Before the Bilingual Education Policy in the 70's, the vernacular was used as a medium of instruction in basic education in the different regions. However, it did not create a common Filipino identity. According to the 1970 Census, 52.07% of the population spoke Pilipino as first or

second language. On the basis of this finding, a bilingual education program was conceptualized.

Under the Bilingual Education Policy, all subjects from Grade One to Fourth Year High School, except for Science, Math and English, will be taught in Pilipino. This meant that the vernacular had no more place in classroom instruction. This policy hoped to develop both the Pilipino and English communication skills of students.

In order to implement the Bilingual Education Policy, the Department of Education had to resolve concerns such as lack of approach, methodology, and teaching materials for teaching Pilipino to non-Tagalog-speaking regions. Developing teachers' competencies in using Pilipino as a medium of instruction was also an important concern that needed to be addressed. Considering the fact that the exposure of students to Pilipino became longer than their exposure to English, there was a need, too, to strengthen the teaching of English.

While the rationale for the introduction of the Bilingual Education Policy was commendable, the result was not very encouraging. In general, graduates from basic education did not develop proficiency in both English and Pilipino.

Continuous Progression Scheme

The Continuous Progression Scheme was introduced in public elementary schools starting 1970-1971 and continued to be implemented during the Martial Law Regime. The Scheme was introduced as there was a perception that the educational system failed a large percentage of pupils. The government identified some valid observations in relation to this --- 1) The government spends twice for every failing student; 2) Failing students displaced those who were supposed to enter the given grade level; and 3) Failing students eventually drop out of school.

The Continuous Progression Scheme was meant to address the above-mentioned situation. It was anchored on the belief that the best way to encourage and stimulate slow-learning students is to allow them to experience success. Experiencing failure does not bring them good experience. They eventually become discouraged to continue schooling.

The Program was pursued despite the fact that it was viewed negatively by many teachers in the field. They perceived this as one way of lowering the standard of the school. The result was not at all encouraging. Many students passed to the next grade without mastering the necessary reading, writing and mathematical skills. The policy had a far reaching effect on many elementary level graduates who were not able to master the competencies necessary to succeed in the secondary level. On the part of teachers in the secondary level, they found it difficult to solve the gap of competencies created by the policy.

Conclusion

One of the earliest decrees issued by President Ferdinand Marcos during the Martial Law Regime was Presidential Decree 6-A, also known as the Educational Development Act of 1972. Through various multi-disciplinary schemes --- political, economic, social-cultural and moral --- implemented through the Department of Education, the government communicated to the youth its national development goals. Graduates came to know the political and economic thrusts of the New Society of the Martial Law Regime through a revised curriculum duly approved by the government.

Through the work-oriented curriculum, Youth Development Training, and vocational subjects given to all, the government ensured the supply of skilled manpower. With the study of Population Education and the Green Revolution government made students its partners in population control and economic growth. Through the use of Pilipino as medium of instruction, students learned concepts in Pilipino and became eloquent in expressing themselves using such language and

thereby contributing to cultural growth. From 1972 to 1982 education became a close ally of the Martial Law Regime.

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PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Resolution

Authorizing that an objective study be made on a proposal that the Philippine Flag be changed

Whereas His Excellency the President of the Philippines has recently submitted, for study and consideration, a proposal calling for inclusion of the Crescent Moon (Islamic Symbol) in the national flag of the Philippines;

Whereas His Excellency is the Honorary President of the Philippine Historical Association, a group of historians and scholars dedicated to the study of historical problems, historical research, and the propagation of historical truth;

Whereas the Philippine Historical Association, eager to participate in the study of His Excellency's proposal, desires to offer its services as part of its continuing commitment to the national community; NOW THEREFORE,

BE IT RESOLVED, as it is hereby resolved, that the Philippine Historical Association conduct an objective study on the proposal for the inclusion of a Crescent Moon (Islamic Symbol) in the Philippine national flag, and

BE IT RESOLVED FURTHER, as it is hereby resolved, that a copy of the position paper embodying the results of the objective study be furnished each to His Excellency the President of the Philippines and to the Honorable Secretary of Education

APPROVED at Quezon City, Metro Manila, Philippines, this thirteenth day of June 1995

The Board of Governors

EPITACIO S. PALISPIS
CELESTINA P. BONCAN
GLORIA M. SANTOS
ROSARIO M. CORTES
AVELINA CASTANEDA
ROSARIO R. VILLAR

ADRIEL O. MEIMBAN
OSCAR L. EVANGELISTA
NAPOLEON J. CASAMBRE
JUDITH B. BARROQUILLO
CESAR P. POBRE
MA. MINERVA A. GONZALEZ

CELEDONIO O. RESURRECCION

PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Position Paper

Subject: An Objective Study of the Proposed Inclusion of a Crescent Moon (Islamic Symbol) in the National Flag of the Philippines

Supporting Premises of the Proposal:

1. The inclusion of the Crescent Moon will show that we recognize our Muslim brothers and sisters as part of Philippine society;
2. The inclusion will go a long way to healing the long-standing rift between Christians and Muslims in the country; and
3. The inclusion is based on the observation that "some countries with Islamic communities, even if these constitute a minority, carry the Crescent Moon in their flags"

Presentation of Evidence and Argumentation

(1) Constitutional and Historical Considerations

Section 1, General Provisions, 1987 Constitution

"The flag of the Philippines shall be red, white, and blue, with a sun and three stars, *as consecrated and honored by the people and recognized by law.*"

Implication

Any addition, subtraction, substitution or realignment of the component parts of the flag violates the restrictive condition of "as consecrated and honored by the people and recognized by law," even if such change is backed by legislation or executive fiat, or even amendment of the Constitution because it is bereft of the people's consecration and honor.

How the Flag Has Been Consecrated and Honored

According to General Emilio Aguinaldo, the national flag is the same sewn by the hands of Marcela Agoncillo in Hong Kong

on his instructions, the same flag brought with him when he returned from exile, the same flag unfurled in Cavite Viejo (Kawit) on the occasion of the proclamation of Philippine independence on June 12, 1898, the same flag that saw victory as well as defeat in the battle field and bore testimony of the baptism of blood and fire of Filipino soldiers, the same flag that graced the Malolos Congress held in Barasoain Church and witnessed the inauguration of the Philippine Republic, it is the same flag that served as a rallying symbol of Filipinos against the new enemy representing American expansionism and colonialism, the same flag extolled in Philippine poetry, music, zarzuelas, dramas and essays, the flag that was banned from display by the American rulers as a means of suppressing Filipino nationalism, the same flag that inspired every Filipino to conquer ignorance and poverty and make Philippine democracy workable and meaningful, it is the same flag that inspired the continuance of the struggle for immediate, complete and absolute independence, the flag that made legions of heroes and martyrs in World War II against the Japanese enemy, it is the flag that was proudly raised to replace the American flag in public buildings, military camps and installations since the withdrawal of American sovereignty on July 4, 1946, and it is the same flag to which we swear our loyalty to honor and to defend.

Any extraneous symbol that has not undergone the vicissitudes of history of the Filipino people, that has not shared in the sufferings and joys, in the anguish and triumphs of the Filipino people is, in the absolute sense, not part of the flag that is consecrated and honored by the Filipino people, notwithstanding its incorporation by law, if this is possible, in the flag.

Section 2, General Provisions, 1987 Constitution

"The Congress may, by law, adopt a new name for the country, a national anthem, or a national seal, which shall be truly reflective and symbolic of the ideals, history, and traditions of the people. Such law shall take effect only upon its ratification by the people in a national referendum."

Observation

This provision does not mention the national flag which is excluded from its coverage under the well-established principles of *unium inclusius, alterius exclusius* which means that only those enumerated or mentioned are subject to the operation of the law while those omitted are not. This provision of the 1987 Constitution is similar to the corresponding provision in the 1973 Constitution of the Marcos Dictatorial Government. Even the dictator with his awesome powers perceived and respected the untouchability of the flag for alteration.

Rationale

The Philippine Flag is not a creation of law or of the constitution. It is a creation of historic forces in the crucible of revolution.

The role of the Constitution is merely confirmatory of the fact of existence of the Philippine flag. This is shown by the fact that the birth of our flag antedates the birth of the 1987 Constitution by eighty-nine years (1898-1987). Besides its confirmatory role, the Constitution has implicitly given the flag a stamp of recognition, thus re-enforcing other acts of recognition like the 1935 and 1973 Constitutions and Public Act No. 2879 dated October 22, 1919 officially lifting the proscription of the display of the Philippine flag which lasted for twelve years from September 6, 1907 supplemented with Executive Proclamation No. 18 issued on October 24, 1918 by the Governor General designating October 30 of that year as "Philippine Flag Day."

(1) Veracity and Reliability of Premises

The purpose of this procedural step is to discover the answer to a prejudicial question respecting the merit of the proposal. If the premises are true, hence valid, then the proposed inclusion of a Crescent Moon may be accepted and given due course. Otherwise, if the premises are found to have infirmities, then the proposal would fall for lack of support. Let us now consider the premises.

Premise 1: The inclusion of the Crescent Moon will show that we recognize our Muslim brothers and sisters as part of Philippine society.

Comment

The premise implies that under present conditions we do not recognize our Muslim brothers as part of Philippine society. The unfortunate implication is absolutely not true. Philippine Muslims enjoy equal rights and privileges as their Christian brothers and sisters. They are given opportunities of higher education as well as employment.

If there is a feeling of isolation between them, it is mutual because of cultural differences, but even then they are very much a part of Philippine society.

Premise 2: The inclusion will go a long way to healing the long-standing rift between Christians and Muslims in the country.

Comment

In the light of world history from ancient times to the present, there is no shadow of speculative certainty that the long-standing tension between Christians and Muslims will disappear. What the centuries have failed to eradicate in the face of their bitter historical experience cannot realistically be eliminated by the mere expedient of a visual, cosmetic treatment. Such a position is naïve and simplistic. Any offered solution must address itself to the Muslim and Christian psyches together with their cultural milieus. Today, in Europe and in the Middle East, Christians and Muslims live an uneasy peace which, in substance, is no peace at all.

Premise 3:

The inclusion is based on the observation that “some countries with Islamic communities, even if these constitute a minority, carry the Crescent Moon in their flags.

Observation

Of the eighty (80) states with Muslim populations: nine (9) states --- where Muslims are overwhelmingly dominant (90% to 99%) in the population and Islam is the official or state religion --- carry a crescent moon in their flags; twenty-seven (27) states do not carry the crescent moon in their flags although they have a predominant Muslim population and a number of them have Islam as a state or official religion; forty-four (44) states with very small Muslim population have flags without a crescent moon or any other Islamic symbol.

Comment

In the Philippines, 75% are Christian; 7% are Muslim.

Summary of Findings

The Philippine Constitution describes the flag as red, white, and blue, with a sun and three stars, as consecrated and honored by the people and recognized by law.

The implication is that any flag with an addition, subtraction, substitution or realignment of symbols does not meet the test of "consecrated and honored by the people and recognized by law."

The Constitution prescribes the procedure of changing the national name, anthem and seal, and deliberately omits the national flag.

The implication is that the national flag cannot be changed by legislation, executive fiat or even by judicial pronouncement. The flag is a child of insuperable historic forces.

The three premises offered in support of the proposal for inclusion of a crescent moon in the Philippine flag are weak and cannot stand scrutiny.

Premise 1 carries an implication that we Christians do not treat our Muslim brothers and sisters as part of Philippine society. This implication is absolutely false.

Premise 2 hangs on a tenuous thread of uncertainty. What centuries have failed to eradicate in the untenable relationship of Christians and Muslim communities cannot be expected to be remedied by a naïve, simplistic visual expedient of cosmetic treatment by incorporation of a crescent moon in the flag.

Premise 3 is shown to be without factual basis and therefore lacks veracity as well as credibility. Except for the nine Islamic states with Islam as state or official religion, all the other Islamic states have no crescent moon in their flags. Non-Islamic states with a minority of Muslim population have flags without a crescent moon or other Islamic symbol.

(3) Aesthetic Consideration

The Philippine flag is well conceived and designed. It gives the impression of neatness, poise, dignity, integrity, balance, and stability.

The addition of a crescent moon will pose a baffling topological problem. Where in the flag can it be placed without giving the flag a cluttered look?

If it is placed inside the triangle, it will convey a wrong impression that the Philippines is an Islamic state, with a predominant Muslim population and that Islam is its state or official religion. Moreover, it would not appear right and just to accommodate the religious symbol of the minority population and exclude the cross symbol of the Christian majority. If the cross is also accommodated, how will they be positioned relative to each other?

Lastly, if the crescent moon is placed outside the triangle on any one of the stripes, the blue or the red, would the position not symbolize the Muslims are outside the ambit of the Philippines? If the crescent moon is placed on the blue stripe, will the placement mean that only the Muslims among us are the only ones willing to die instead of surrendering to the enemy? If the crescent is placed on the red stripe, does that not mean only the Muslims possess indomitable courage? In either case, the simplicity, balance and neatness of the flag will be aesthetically impaired.

Addendum: The Muslims Demand a Ninth Ray of the Sun

Since the days of militant student activism and of the Marcos dictatorship, the Muslims have been asking for the inclusion of a ninth ray of the sun to represent their successful resistance to Spanish domination. Considering the history of the Revolution, a ninth ray would disturb the symbolism of the eight rays. The Muslims who proudly claim to have never been subdued by Spanish might, hence colonized by Spain, cannot be conceived as participating in the Revolution, much less initiate it as the eight Tagalog provinces did.

Conclusion

There is no constitutional authority and power to support a change on the flag.

The premises given by the proponent in support of his proposal to include a crescent moon in the flag are not historically true.

The inevitable conclusion drawn from the study militates against incorporation of the Islamic crescent symbol.

THE MUSLIM CAMPAIGN FOR A NINTH RAY

Teodoro A. Agoncillo

For several years now, there has been a systematic campaign on the part of a sector of the Muslim population, especially those who had gone to college, to influence the national government in Manila to change the historical basis of our national flag by adding one ray to the sun. The only reason given by this Muslim sector is that the Muslims in the Philippines had never been conquered by the Spaniards and that they alone stood defiant against Western incursions into this part of the world. In order, so this Muslim sector says, that the courage and bravery of the Muslims may be properly represented in our national flag, a ninth ray should be added to the existing eight rays of the sun.

I sympathize with our Muslim brothers. There is no doubt that their courage and bravery stood the test of time, that the Spaniards were not able to subjugate them, and that they have retained their way of life and civilization. When one looks back to our past under Spain, we find that the coastal towns of the Visayas and Luzon had been bloody witnesses to the Muslim raids which carried off men, women and children to be sold in the slave markets of the former East Indies, now known as Indonesia. I, for one, am of the belief that those Muslim raids were motivated by the Muslim resentment over the acquiescence of the Christian natives to the Spanish desire to subjugate the Muslims and to bring them within the orbit of the Catholic religion. That the Muslims reacted in the only way they knew is proof that they were an independent-minded people, that they loved not only their freedom but also their culture.

There were times when some Muslim leaders entered into agreements with Spanish colonial officials to make Muslim

land a zone of peace, but the agreements were good only on paper since the Muslims, fearing Spanish duplicity, never seriously undertook to make the agreements a living reality. Consequently, the Muslims themselves never considered having been under Spain and, therefore, not Filipinos, since the term "Filipino" is derived from Felipe or Philip, the Spanish prince who later on became King Philip II whose name became the basis of our country's name.

I do not deny the heroism of our Muslim brothers. There is no question about it. But in discussing the addition of a ninth ray to the present eight rays of the sun in our national flag, Muslim heroism and their refusal to be subjugated by the Spaniards are completely beside the point. What is relevant and significant is the meaning of the addition of a ninth ray to the sun of our flag. Let me give you a brief historical background of our flag. When General Emilio Aguinaldo designed the present national flag in Hong Kong, he had in mind the first eight provinces of Luzon which rose in arms against Spain. The eight provinces were Batangas, Laguna, Cavite, Manila, Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, and Nueva Ecija. Since these eight provinces were the first to rise in arms against Spain, Aguinaldo thought it proper to honor them in our flag. Consequently, he suggested to the makers of our flag to put a sun with eight rays, these eight rays representing the first eight provinces which rose in arms against Spain. In the proclamation of Philippine independence on June 12, 1898, it says: "The triangle represents the distinctive emblem of the famous Katipunan society which by means of its blood compact suggested to the masses the urgency of the insurrection: the three stars represent the three principal islands of this archipelago, Luzon, Mindanao and Panay, wherein this revolutionary movement broke out: the sun represents the gigantic strides that have been made by the sons of this land on the road to progress and civilization: its eight rays symbolize the eight provinces, Manila, Cavite, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, Laguna, and Batangas which were declared in state of war almost as soon as the first revolutionary movement was initiated: the colors blue, red, and white commemorate those of the flag of the United States of America.

There is a slight error in the enumeration of the first provinces which rose in rebellion against Spain: instead of Bataan, it should have been Tarlac. It is obvious that the eight rays of the sun in our flag have their basis in the history of the Revolution against Spain in 1896. Those eight rays were not placed there out of caprice; there was a deliberate and conscious attempt on the part of Aguinaldo and other revolutionists to make them represent the first eight provinces which fought Spain in 1896. This fact of Philippine history must be borne in mind in assessing the Muslim campaign to give them extra representation in our flag by the addition of a ninth ray. For us to add or subtract one or more rays from the sun of our flag is to twist the facts of the history of the Revolution of 1896 since the flag was made in the crucible of the Revolution. An addition of a ray in the present eight rays of the sun would mean that the Muslims were one of the first to rise in arms against Spain in 1896. This is not only unhistorical; it is anti-historical, a clear case of prevarication of our history for the addition of an extra ray to the present eight rays would create something out of nothing. The Muslims never participated in the Revolution of 1896; nor did they participate in the war against the United States. On the contrary, the Muslim Sultan and his *datus* signed the so-called Bates Treaty of August 20, 1899 by the terms of which the United States declared her sovereignty over the archipelago of Jolo and its dependencies and in exchange for this the United States agreed to pay the Sultan and his *datus* a monthly stipend. This agreement was concluded at a time when the people of Luzon and the Visayas, particularly of Iloilo, Cebu, and Samar were dying to protect what was their own against the imperialistic pretensions of the Americans. These are facts of our history which cannot be blurred or erased by sentimental mawkishness or by a feeling of *pakikisama*. One thing is very clear: the Muslims never participated either in the Revolution of 1896 or in the war against the Americans in 1899-1901. Bearing this in mind, how can anyone who has any inkling of our history come forward to suggest that a ninth ray be added to the existing eight rays of our sun? To make this suggestion and to second it is to agree to the deliberate twisting and prevarication of our history. This is no less than dishonesty and anybody who,

willingly and deliberately commits a dishonest act, whether intellectual or otherwise, should be condemned.

There is one other point that should be emphasized in connection with the Muslim campaign to add a ninth ray to the present eight rays of our sun. And it is that the Muslims, in thus asking for a ninth ray, are inconsistent. They take pride in not having been under Spanish rule and were therefore independent. Being independent, they were not Filipinos, for they did not recognize the authority of Spain over them and refused to be the subject of King Philip II and the succeeding Spanish sovereigns. If they were independent and not Filipinos, why do they now ask to be retroactively under pain who fought in the Revolution in 1896? We cannot change the facts of history; we can only interpret facts differently according to the temperament and orientation of particular historians but the facts remain. The Muslims did not participate, I repeat for emphasis, in the Revolution of 1896, the basis of our flag today, nor in the war against the Americans in 1899-1901. These are facts of our history which nobody, not even the future Parliament of the Philippines, can change by legislation or by caprice.

I wish to call your attention to the fact that the Muslims are sufficiently represented in our flag. As you know, our flag has three stars representing the three geographic regions of the archipelago. One of the stars in our flag represents Mindanao and Sulu which are Muslim land. Since the Muslims alone among the cultural minorities are already sufficiently represented, why should they ask for extra representation? If they think that they deserve to be better represented, why cannot the Igorots, who fought the Spaniards in 1897 and the Americans in 1899 and after, ask for a ray to represent them in the flag? And why not the Ilocanos who also fought the Americans? And why not the Ilonggos who fought the Americans with so much courage that the Americans had a difficult time subduing them? As you are aware, the Ilonggo heroes, General Martin Delgado who would rather burn the houses into ashes than submit to the Americans, and General Pablo Araneta who, with Delgado, fought ferociously to maintain the dignity of Filipinos in Iloilo

and other provinces of Panay, made history when they chose to fight with the masses of the people. In Cebu and in Samar, the story is the same, that is, the people in those and other provinces of the Visayas and Luzon fought the invaders to the last. It is they who, by right, should be represented in our flag, not the Muslims who never fought the Spaniards in 1896 and the Americans in 1899 and after. The Muslims will probably say that they fought the Spaniards for centuries before 1896. But the central fact of our national flag is not the uprisings, rebellions and battles with the Spaniards before 1896 but the Revolution of 1896. Our flag, therefore, is rooted in the historical facts of 1896, not in the historical facts before 1896. It is significant that provinces like Iloilo, Cebu, Samar, the Ilocos, Pangasinan, Bohol, the Bikol provinces, and others who fought the enemies in 1896 or in 1899 never asked for additional rays in our sun. This is because they know that they are sufficiently represented in our flag by the stars.

Let me refer you to the American flag for purposes of comparison. As you know, the American flag has thirteen stripes representing the original thirteen colonies of the United States. The number of stars in the American flag has varied in accordance with the number of states that has been admitted into the American Union. The number of stars in the American flag may be changed according to circumstances, but the number of stripes will never be changed. No sensible American has ever suggested the addition or lessening of the number of stripes in their flag because they know that the stripes represent the original thirteen colonies, a number that cannot be diminished or increased without prevaricating on the facts of American history. In the same manner, we can change the number of stars in our flag to show an addition to or subtraction from the present three geographic regions, but we cannot change the number of rays in our flag without being guilty of historical misrepresentation or distortion. Distortion in history is a crime and a historian guilty of this crime is punished by the reading public by throwing his books to the bonfire. Let not our Muslim brothers distort the history of our Revolution by making it appear that they actively participated in that upheaval which led ultimately to Philippine

independence. They have their own history; let their history speak for them and recount for the benefit of the young generation of Muslims the heroic exploits of their ancestors. But they should know when and where to stop. They should not intrude into the Philippine Revolution of 1896 because they did nothing to help their Christian brothers in the struggle for freedom and independence. It is enough that they are represented in the present flag with one star; to ask for more is to abuse history.

4:46pm

Monday 25 June 1973

The Contributors

GABRIEL F. FABELLA was the first PHA President in 1955 and again served in 1956, 1957, 1959. He was former chairman of the Department of History of the University of the Philippines Diliman. He led the PHA's campaign in Congress for a law to move the celebration of Philippine Independence Day from July 4 to June 12.

NICOLAS A. ZAFRA was PHA President in 1958, 1962. He was professor emeritus of history at the University of the Philippines and was former chairman of its Department of History. In UP, he was fondly called "Tatay Zafra." He was author of textbooks on Philippine and Asian History. His *Readings in Philippine History* was the textbook in U.P. for many years.

ESTEBAN A. DE OCAMPO was PHA President in 1960, 1963, 1964, 1969, and 1970. He was a member of the faculty of the Manuel L. Quezon University. He was former Chairman and Executive Director of the National Historical Institute where, among other things, he led the celebration of the birth centenary of Manuel Quezon, institutionalized History Week, and began the identification and marking of historic sites. He is most noted for his article *Why is Rizal the Greatest Filipino Hero?*

RICARDO A. ARCILLA was PHA President in 1961(acting). He was director of the Graduate School and Dean of Discipline of the University of Manila. He was Knight Officer of the Order of the Knights of Rizal.

DALMACIO MARTIN was PHA President in 1961. He was former chief of the Curriculum Division of the Bureau of Education and member of the translation division of the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission.

GREGORIO F. ZAIDE was PHA President in 1965, 1966, 1971. He was the first Professor Emeritus of History of the Far Eastern University. He was recipient of the Republic Cultural Heritage Award in 1968, the Diploma of Distinction for research on the life and works of Dr. Jose Rizal, and the Distinguished Public Service Award. He was author of numerous textbooks on Philippine and Asian History and Rizal's life and works.

CELEDONIO A. ANCHETA was PHA President in 1967. He was Commanding Officer of the 15th Infantry, United States Army Forces in the Philippines, North Luzon (USAFIP, NL). He holds an MA in History, a Bachelor of Laws and is a Doctor of Letters. He taught at the University of the Philippines and became a Fulbright Exchange Professor to Southern Illinois University. He is author of *The Liberation of North Luzon* and *The Wainwright Papers* (vols. 1-4).

SIXTO Y. OROSA was PHA President in 1968. He was a physician by profession. He and his wife, both graduates of the University of the Philippines College of Medicine, first established their medical practice in a public hospital in Jolo where they spent ten years during which time it was recognized as the best administered in the country at the time. He was Knight Officer of the Order of the Knights of Rizal.

GLORIA M. SANTOS was PHA President in 1971, 1972. She was the first woman president of the PHA. She took her post graduate degree in History and Education from Far Eastern University and Theology from Dorset institute of Higher Learning in Weymouth, England. She has been PHA Executive Director since 1980 until the present. She recently retired as dean for external affairs of St. Mary's College, Quezon City.

CELEDONIO O. RESURRECCION was PHA President in 1973, 1974. He was a faculty member of the Department of Economics and the Department of Political Science of the Far Eastern University.

DIOSDADO G. CAPINO was PHA President in 1975, 1976. He taught history at Arellano University. He was author of *Oriental History, Childhood and Boyhood Stories of Jose Rizal, Stories on Rizal's Character, Teachings, Examples from His Relatives and Friends* and *The United Nations in Action*.

MA. MINERVA A. GONZALEZ was PHA President in 1977, 1978. She holds a bachelor of education degree in education, major in history, from the University of Santo Tomas. She became supervising teacher at the UST Education High School and later became acting dean of the UST College of Education. She served as assistant to the rector for Student Affairs from 1986 to 1990. She was co-author of the book *Rizal's Life, Works and Writings: Their Impact on Our National Identity*.

BONIFACIO S. SALAMANCA was PHA President in 1979, 1980. He was former chairman of the Department of History of the University of the Philippines Diliman. His doctoral dissertation at Yale University became the basis of his book, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1899-1913*. He was the first dean of UP College Manila (now the College of Arts & Sciences). His other book, *Towards a Diplomatic History of the Philippines*, is a collection of his research and writing for three decades on Philippine-American relations.

FILIPINAS E. PINEDA was PHA President in 1981. She taught history at the College of Arts & Sciences of the University of the East. She was author of several books on Rizal's life and works and Philippine History. She was co-author of the book *Rizal's Life, Works and Writings: Their Impact on Our National Identity*.

ROMEO V. CRUZ was PHA President in 1982, 1983. He was former dean of the University of the Philippines at Clark Air Base. His doctoral dissertation at the University of California in Berkeley, *America's Colonial Desk and the Philippines, 1898-1934*, was published by the University of the Philippines Press.

ROSARIO M. CORTES was PHA President in 1984, 1985. She was Professor Emeritus of History at the University of the Philippines Diliman and author of three volumes on Pangasinan history, namely, *Pangasinan 1572-1800*, *Pangasinan 1801-1900: The Beginnings of Modernization*, and *Pangasinan 1901-1986: A Political, Socioeconomic and Cultural History* and the Philippine history textbook *The Filipino Saga: History as Social Change*.

OSCAR L. EVANGELISTA was PHA President in 1986, 1987, 1996, and 1997. He was former Vice Chancellor for Community Affairs of the University of the Philippines Diliman. He holds graduate degrees from Cairo University and University of Wisconsin. He became visiting professor of Philippine and Asian History in Indonesia, Nigeria, Japan and the US. He is author of the books *Building the National Community: Problems and Prospects and Other Historical Essays* and *Icons and Institutions: Essays on the History of the University of the Philippines, 1952-2000*. At present, he is consultant for Social Sciences at Palawan State University.

NAPOLEON J. CASAMBRE was PHA President in 1988, 1989. He was former chairman of the Department of History and former associate dean of the College of Arts & Sciences of the University of the Philippines Diliman. He took his doctoral studies in history at Stanford University on a Rockefeller Foundation Scholarship Grant. His doctoral dissertation was entitled "Francis Burton Harrison: His Administration in the Philippines, 1913-1921." At present, he resides in the United States.

CESAR P. POBRE was PHA President 1990 (acting), 1991, 1992, 2002, 2003. He is a retired colonel of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. He took his doctoral studies in history at the University of Karachi through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization Post Graduate Scholarship Programme and became a member of the faculty of the Philippine Military Academy. He is author of the book *History of the Armed Forces of the Filipino People*. At present, he is a consultant at the Office of Strategic

and Special Studies at the Command and General Staff Colleges of the AFP.

MILAGROS C. GUERRERO was PHA in President 1994. She was former chairman of the Department of History of the University of the Philippines Diliman. She took her doctoral studies at the University of Michigan. She is co-author of the book *History of the Filipino People*. She recently retired from teaching but continues to do research work on the Philippine Revolution.

EPITACIO S. PALISPIS was PHA President in 1995. He was former vice president for academics of Asian Social Institute. He is author of the book *Introduction to Sociology and Anthropology*. At present, he is the national president of the Philippine Association of Graduate Educators (PAGE) and vice president of Trinity University of Asia.

PABLO S. TRILLANA III was PHA President in 1998, 1999. He was a delegate to the 1971 Constitutional Convention and former Chairman and Executive Director of the National Historical Institute. He is the author of the books *Rizal and Heroic Traditions: A Sense of National Destiny* and *The Loves of Rizal*. At present, he is Supreme Commander of the Order of the Knights of Rizal for 2010-2012.

AMBETH R. OCAMPO was PHA President in 2000, 2001. He was chosen 1997 Ten Outstanding Young Men (TOYM) for the field of History. He was former president of City College of Manila and former chairman of National Commission for Culture and the Arts and National Historical Institute. In 2010 he was awarded the "Order of Lakandula" for exemplary leadership, distinguished career and esteemed standing in public service, the academic community and the field of culture and arts. At present, he is chairman of the Department of History of the Ateneo de Manila University and the National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

EVELYN A. MIRANDA was PHA President in 2004, 2005. She was former chairman of the Department of History of the University of the Philippines Diliman. She received a Ford-Rockefeller Foundation research grant and UP Club of America and Benigno Aquino professorial chairs. She recently retired from teaching but continues to do research on the history of Laguna Province and Filipino devotion to the Virgin Mary.

CELESTINA P. BONCAN was PHA President in 2006, 2007, 2008. She is co-author of the book *The Filipino Saga: History as Social Change*. She received a Fulbright research scholarship and a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship. In 2007, she was the Outstanding Faculty for Extension Service of UP Manila. In 2008, she was awarded as Centennial Faculty Grantee of UP Manila. At present, she is associate professor at the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of the Philippines Manila.

EVELYN A. SONGCO is PHA President 2008 (acting), 2009-2011. She holds a doctoral degree in Development Education from the University of Santo Tomas. At present, she teaches at the UST College of Education and Graduate School and serves as assistant to the rector for student affairs.

The Editor

CELESTINA P. BONCAN has been Editor-in-Chief of the *Historical Bulletin* since 2007. In 2008-2009 she went on secondment at the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (formerly National Historical Institute) as Chief of the Research, Publications and Heraldry Division.

Guidelines for Contributors

Notes and References

Contributors are requested to observe the following guidelines:

The standard length of the article is 6,000 words or approximately 20 pages typed double spaced with a 1 inch margin at the top, bottom and sides of the paper.

Include a brief abstract summarizing the article and at least five (5) key words in a separate sheet of paper.

Indicate in another separate sheet of paper the following information about the author --- name, title, affiliation, home address, telephone/mobile number and email address.

Notes shall be used for substantive additional information. They must be numbered serially and placed at the end of the article in a separate Endnotes Section before the References.

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NEWSPAPER ARTICLE

David, Randy. 1997. Split Level Christianity. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, March 30

CONFERENCE PAPER

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